THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You give your notice. Let the hon. Chairman decide what he wants, and we will let you know about it.

प्रो० विजय कुमार मल्होत्रा (दिल्ली): ऐसा बिहेवियर हुआ है, इसको तो सीधा भेज देना चाहिए।

SHRIMATI KAMLA SINHA (Bihar): Madam, this is a shameful affair. The Government should take proper note of it so that this does not happen anywhere else.

I wish the Chair takes note of it and takes appropriate action so that such shameful acts do not recur with any other Member of Parliament.

SHRI JOHN. F. FERNANDES (Goa): Day in any day out we see atrocities committed by policemen against the civilians. I do not know what state is this. The Home Minister is here. Let him react.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House is capable enough to protect the privileges of the Members of Parliament. If any Member of Parliament is obstructed by anyone while performing his or her duty, we have the Privileges Committee which will examine it. We will let the House know about whoever is found guilty and what action is taken.

The Member of Parliament's photograph was torn. It is highly objectionable and condemnable, because that is the Identity Card issued by the Parliament to tell the people that he is a Member of Parliament; he has certain privileges.

SHRI V.P. DURAISAMY: Madam, whatever the hon. Member spoke about the former Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu should be expunged.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That is a different issue. I will look into the record. That is a different matter he has talked about.

PROF. RAM KAPSE (Maharashtra): Madam, the police protects the Parliament here. It is highly objectionable when our photographs are torn by the police. (*Interruptions*) It is not a party matter.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We are not discussing it now. Now, we go over to the Calling Attention. Shri Narendra Mohan.

CALLING ATTENTION TO MATTER OF URGENT PUBLIC IMPORTANCE

Increasing Insurgency in the North Eastern States

श्री नरेन्द्र मोहन (उत्तर प्रदेश): उपसभापति महोदय, मैं एक बहुत ही अहम मसले पर सदन का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूं। पूर्वोत्तर राज्यों में जो उग्रवाद पनप रहा है वह अपने आप में चिन्ता की बात है।...

उपसभापति: अभी आप पढ़े नहीं। यह आपका पहला कालिंग अटेंशन है।

You just call the attetnion. The Minister will read his statement. उस स्टेटमेंट के बाद आप अपना भाषण शुरु करिए।

SHRI NARENDRA MOHAN: Madam, I call the attention of the Minister of Home Affairs to the increasing insurgency in the North-Eastern States.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA): Madam, as you have just now pointed out, I have to make a statement on the Call Attention notice, which has been given by two hon. Members of this House on the question of insurgency in the North Eastern Region.

Madam, among the North Eastern States, currently Assam, Tripura, Nagaland and manipur are insurgency affected. Other three States, viz. Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram and Meghalaya, are by and large peaceful. The root causes for this continuing insurgency include among others the relative economic backwardness of the region, perceptions of neglect and alienation...

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE (West

Bengal): Madam, the Statement which has been circulated is not tallying with what the hon. Minister is reading. (*Interruptions*) In fact, the second paragraph of his Statement starts as: "In Assam, the United Front of Asam..." therefore, please just see whether the Statement which you have to read is in your file. Or you read the statement which has been circulated.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: I am sorry, there is some mix-up of papers. I apologise.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It could be the answer, which he will have to say later on.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Out of the seven North-Eastern States, Assam, Tripura, Nagaland and Manipur are currently affected by the secessionist, subversive and violent activities of certain insurgent groups. The States of Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya and Mizoram are by and large peaceful.

2. In Assam the United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA) and the BODO insurgent groups, namely, the National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB) and the Bodo Liberation Tigers (BLT) have been indulging in largescale violence. Naga insurgent groups (NSCN) are also active in some parts of the State. ULFA was responsible for 141 violent incidents which resulted in killing of 107 persons including 48 Police/Security Forces personnel during 1996. During the current year upto 7 May, 1997, the ULFA has been responsible for 79 violent incidents in which 60 persons including 19 Police/Security forces personnel have lost their lives. The Bodo militant groups have been responsible for 44 violent incidents and the death of 42 persons including 3 Police/Security Forces personnel upto 7 May during the current year as against 213 violent incidents resulting in the killing of 260 persons including 31 Police/Security Forces personnel. In order to check the violent and subversive activities of these insurgent groups, a strategy Group under the Chairmanship of the Chief Secretary, Assam for overall supervision of the counter insurgency operations and a Unified Headquarters under the Chairmanship of the GOC 4 Corps was set-up in January, 1997. Although this arrangement was initially made for a period of 3 months, it has been extended in April, 1997 for a further 3 months. The State of Assam remains declared as a "disturbed area" and both the ULFA and NDFB remain notified as "unlawful associations". The special operations in Assam during this period have led to a check on the violent and subversive activities of both the ULFA and Bodo insurgent groups.

Tripura is currently affected by the violent and subversive activities of about twenty tribal extremist groups which include the All Tripura Tiger Force (ATTF) and the National Liberation Front of Tripura (NLFT). While the ATTF had indulged in large-scale arson and killing of non-tribals during February-March, 1997, I am extremely distressed to report to the House that just one week ago the NLFT was responsible for the 7 May, 1997 ambush of a CRPF party in South Tripura District. 17 CRPF jawans and one Tripura Home Guard were killed and four CRPF jawans injured in the incident. The NLFT insurgents also took away arms and ammunition. DG, CRPF has visited Tripura for a spot enquiry. Available statistics indicate that while the ATTF has been responsible for 48 violent incidents resulting in the killing of 54 persons including 10 Police/Security Forces personnel in 1996, the NLFT was involved in 26 such incidents resulting in the killing of 45 persons including 18 Police/Security Forces personnel. During the current year and upto 7 May, 1997, the ATTF was involved in 20 violent incidents which resulted in the killing of 66 civilians. The NLFT during the same period was responsible for 25 such incidents which caused the death of

39 persons incldaing 18 Police/Security Forces personnel. All efforts are being made in consultation with the State Govt. to control such activities by the tribal insurgent groups.

In the case of Manipur, while the Valley areas are affected by the terrorist and separatist activities of five meitei extremist groups, viz, Peoples Liberation Army (PLA), United National Liberation Front (UNLF), Peoples Revolutionary Party of Kangleipak (PREPAK), Kanglei Communist Party (KCP) and the Kanglei Yaol Kanba Lup (KYKL), the hill areas of the State are affected by the Naga and Kuki insurgent groups. During 1996, the Meitei extremist groups were involved in 288 violent incidents resulting in the killing of 142 persons including 52 Police/ Security Forces personnel. The figures for the current year and upto 7 may, 1997 are 103 violent incidents resulting in the killing of 30 persons including 9 Police/ Security Forces personnel. The Naga insurgent group (NSCN-I) has also maintained a very high level of violence and was involved in 37 violent incidents leading to the death of 29 persons including 8 Police/Security forces personnel in 1996. Upto 7 May, 1997, the NSCN (I) has been responsible for 16 violent incidents leading to the killing of 7 persons including 2 Police/Security Forces personnel. the Nagakuki ethnic conflict had also taken a turn for the worse during February, 1997. As against 58 violent incidents leading to the killing of 25 Nagas and 33 Kukis and the burning down of 136 houses duirng 1996, the Kuki-Naga conflict has resulted in 17 violent incidents leading to the killing of 9 Nagas and Kukis each and the burning down of 33 houses upto 7 May, 1997. The Security Forces have in the recent past achieved some significant successes against the NSCN (I) operating in the hill areas of Manipur.

In Nagaland both factions of the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN), viz, the Issak Swu faction (NSCN I) and the Khaplang faction (NSCN K) continue to indulge in acts of violence with the aim of achieving secession of the Naga inhabited areas from the Indian Union. As against 261 violent incidents leading to the killing of 192 persons including 48 Police/Security forces personnel during 1996, the Naga insurgent groups have been responsible for 103 violent incidents leading to the killing of 49 persons including 11 Police/ Security Forces personnel upto 7 May during the current year. They have also been indulging in unprecendented extortions and illegal tax collections, particularly from traders and businessmen.

In order to assist the State Government of the insurgency affected North-Eastern States, the Central Government have inducted units of the Central Para Military Forces and the Army, declared the most seriously affected areas as 'disturbed' and the major insurgent groups as 'unlawful associations'. In addition, the Central Government has been extending financial assistance to the North-Eastern States both under Central schemes and by way of special assistance for specific purposes like procurement of arms and ammunition, vehicles and wireless communication equipment. The Central Government have also accorded sanction to the raising of 12 India Reserve Battalions by the North-Eastern States which includes 4 Bns. for Assam, 2 each for Tripura, Manipr and Arunachal Pradesh and 1 each for Mizoram and Meghalaya. The situation is kept under watch and is constantly reviewed from time to time.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have a lot of names other than the two people, Mr. Narendra Mohan and Mr. V. Narayansamy. I have twelve names more.

AN. HON. MEMBER: Mr. Narayanasamy is absent.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes, he is absent. Along with his, there are total 14 names. I would try to include every political party's viewpoint and in the

begining I would like to give preference to those people who come from that region so that they can tell us what they have seen and then the rest will do. We have not much time. Half-an-hour has already gone. If the House so agrees, we can take a decision now that we can have the discussion completed by 1.30. We can cut down half-an-hour from the lunch hour If the House so agrees,....

SHRI NARENDRA MOHAN: Yes, Madam.

SHRI JOHN F. FERNANDES (Goa): Madam, after lunch, the problem of quorum arises.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: If the House so agrees, we can forgo the lunch hour. I have no problem.

SHRI NARENDRA MOHAN: Let us forgo lunch.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Fine, but still everybody will have to see that one-and-a-half hours' time is left for his reply and everything else. So, try to be very brief so that all the viewpoints are registered.

श्री नरेन्द्र मोहनः उपसभापति जी, आपका बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद और गृह मंत्री जी का भी, लेकिन समझ में यह नहीं आया कि गृह मंत्री जी ने जो बयान दिया वह आधा-अधूरा क्यों दिया? बड़ी अजीब बात है कि लोक सभा में बयान दिया गया और आपकी ओर से श्री ए॰सी॰ जोश के उत्तर में 25 फरवरी को तब एक बात और बताई गई जो इस बार भी बताई जानी चाहिए थी, वह यह थी कि,

"There is a direct had of ISI." May I read it out?

> "The news-item refers *inter alia* to assistance extended to some neighbouring groups and the Pak ISI to north-eastern insurgent groups. Several steps have been taken to bring normalcy."

अब प्रश्न यह उठता है कि आपने आखिर आई॰एस॰आई॰ का नाम क्यों नहीं लिया? जब आई॰एस॰आई॰ का सीधा हाथ है पूर्वोत्तर के आतंकवाद में, उग्रवाद में तो आपको मंत्री जी सदन को बताना चाहिए था। आपने लोक सभा को बताया लेकिन राज्य सभा को नहीं बताया। खैर, यह आप जानें। एक अजीब बात और भी है। आपने अपने उत्तर में यह कहा कि मेजर इंसर्जेंट ग्रुप्स को आपने अन लाफुल एसोसिएशन डिक्लेयर किया।

What about minor groups?

आज पूर्वोत्तर में लगभग दो दर्जन से ज्यादा उग्रवादी संगठन हैं और वे हर तरह की हरकतें कर रहे हैं। हत्याएं कर रहे हैं, लूट-पाट कर रहे हैं और ट्रेनों को उड़ा देते हैं, पुलों को उड़ा रहे हैं, लेकिन आपने उनकी कोई चर्चा नहीं की है। यह अजीब बात है कि मेजर को केवल दो को आपने अन ला फुल एसोसिएशन के रूप में डिक्लेयर किया हुआ है, जबकि दो दर्जन से ज्यादा ऐसे संगठन हैं जो उसी प्रकार की गतिविधियों में लिप्त हैं जिस प्रकार की गतिविधियां नेशनल सोशलिस्ट कौंसिल आफ नागालैंड के जो हैं वे जो कर रहे हैं। उनका जो सोशलिस्ट ग्रुप है आईज़ैक वह भी कर रहा है। एक और सवाल यह उठ खड़ा हुआ है कि यह जो मशरूम ग्रोथ आफ इंसर्जेंट ग्रुप्स हुआ है इसको रोकने के लिए आपने क्या उपाय किए यह भी आपने सदन को नहीं बताया है और ये ग्रुप्स बढ़ते चले आ रहे हैं। हर साल, हर महीने एक नया उग्रवादी संगठन खड़ा हो जाता है। अब ये जो नए-नए संगठन खड़े हो जाते हैं, उस पर कैसे रोक लगेगी? और इसमें एक वेस्टेड इन्टरेस्ट हो गया है। एक अर्थ में अगर यह कहा जाए तो यह इंसर्जेंसी एक प्रकार का उद्योग हो गया है। उद्योग इसलिए हो गया है कि वहां पर गरीबी है, बेकारी है, भुखमरी है और जो पढ़े-लिखे बेकार हैं वे यह समझते हैं कि राजनीति में आने का इससे अच्छा और कोई तरीका नहीं है। कुछ दिनों तक उग्रवाद कर लिया जाए, बाद में विधायक बन जायेंगे, नेता बन जायेंगे। केन्द्र के साथ समझौता हो जाएगा। कुछ पैसे मिल जायेंगे। पूर्वोत्तर राज्यों में इंसर्जेंसी इस प्रकार का एक धंधा बन गया है। इसके बारे में अनेक समाचार प्रकाशित हो चुके हैं। संभवतः आपकी जानकारी में मंत्री जी यह बात आई होगी। सवाल यह है कि इन बातों पर आपने कोई प्रकाश क्यों नहीं डाला। क्या ये आपके लिए आवश्यक प्रश्न नहीं थे? सब से बड़ा सवाल यह है कि पूर्वोत्तर राज्य में यह जो उग्रवाद की समस्या है यह कोई नहीं समस्या नहीं है। आज लगभग 50 वर्ष हो गए इन 50 वर्षों में हम ने इस समस्या को हल करने की बहुत कोशिश की है, लेकिन हल नहीं कर पाए। महोदया, बीच में 80 के दशक में ऐसा लगता था कि समस्या हल

हो गयी, लेकिन उस के बाद यकायक आप ने आठवें माउंटेन डिवीजन को हटाकर काश्मीर भेज दिया। उसका परिणाम यह हुआ कि सारी-की-सारी स्थिति पुनः बिगड़ गयी। इस बारे में मैं मेजर जनरल साहब का एक बयान आप के समक्ष पढ़ना चाहूंगा जोकि अखबारों में भी छपा है और संभवतः वह आपकी जानकारी में आया होगा वह था कि....

> "The Army has established an excellent counter-insurgency grid in the early eighties with 8 Mountain Division as its fulcrum. The GOC of the Division was, in a sense, the unified commander of operations south of the Brahamaputra when Assam and Tripura were free of insurgency and Meghalaya of civil strife. Moving 8 Mountain Division to Kashmir in 1990 was a cardinal sin as it dismantled the intellegence and operational grid nurtured over three decades."

महोदया, यह जो गलती भारत सरकार से हुई है, उस के कारण आज पूर्वोत्तर राज्यों में भारी उग्रवाद बढ़ा है। मेजर जनरल अशोक मेहता का यह बयान हिंदुस्तान टाइम्स में छपा है। उन्होंने यह भी कहा है कि—

> "The signals from the north-east are ominous. The insurgencies east of the Siliguri corridor astride the Brahamaputra basin are probably more dangerous than the proxy war in Kashmir." और यही मैं कहता हूं कि आई०एस०आई० का हाथ है। इस बात को आप की सरकार ने जिस में कि आप गृह मंत्री हैं, उस दौरान लोक सभा में 25 फरवरी को कहा था। अब आप इसे नियंत्रित कैसे करेंगे? महोदया, मैं जानता हूं कि समस्या बहुत जटिल है, लेकिन इस जटिल समस्या का हल खोजने के लिए आप ने कौन से नए कदम उठाए हैं? आप ने तो यहां वह बातें उठा दीं जोकि अखबारों में छप चुकी हैं और यहां कई बार कही जा चुकी हैं। महोदया, सवाल यह है कि वहां के प्रशासन का मनोबल टूट चुका है, पुलिस का मनोबल टूट चुका है।

मंत्री जी, आप के सामने स्टेंडिंग कमेटी, होम की एक रिपोर्ट आई होगी, जो कि सोमपाल जी ने दी थी। उसमें भी यही लिखा गया है कि स्थिति बहुत ज्यादा खराब हो गयी है और वह खराब इसलिए हो गयी है कि समय पर कार्यवाही नहीं की गयी।

> "The Committee has said the local police were a demoralised lot and needed moral boosting. There was need for matching firearms, training and the intelligence network needs urgent improvement."

महोदया, अब और तमाम बातें हैं। स्टेंडिंग कमेटी की रिपोर्ट के पहले भी ये सारी बातें आप के समाने आई होंगी। अब स्थाई समिति ने जो अनुशंसाएं की हैं, उन पर आप ने क्या कार्यवाही की, सदन को आप को यह बताना चाहिए था। आप ने उस बारे में कोई जानकारी दी नहीं। महोदया, इस कमेटी ने कहा था कि आप के आई०ए०एस० / आई०पी०एस० अधिकारी वहां जाने को तैयार नहीं हैं। मंत्री जी, आप की जानकारी में यह बात है और एक नहीं दर्जनों आई०ए०एस० / आई०पी०एस० आफिसर्स पूर्वोत्तर राज्यों में इस आतंकवाद का शिकार हो चुके हैं उन की हत्याएं हो चुकी हैं। आप चाहें तो मैं उन की लिस्ट आप को बढ़कर सुना सकता हूं। वह लिस्ट मेरे पास है और आप की फाइनल में भी वह लिस्ट है। आप के समाने डाक्युमेंट्स हैं आप को आई०बी० ने वह जानकारी दी है, आप को रा ने यह जानकारी दी है कि कहां से विदेशी पैसा आता है और कौन उस के पीछे है। आप की जानकारी में यह बात है कि कहां-कहां विदेशों में उन के अड्डे हैं? भूटान, थाईलैंड और कहां-कहां विदेशों में उन के अड्डे हैं, लेकिन आप ने वह जानकारी सदन को नहीं दी है। वह बड़े अफसोस की बात है कि स्टेंडिंग कमेटी आप से कह रही है कि आप के पास यह तमाम जानकारियां रा और आई०बी० ने दी है, लेकिन आप ने उस की कोई चर्चा नहीं की है।

भयानक, हत्या, नरसंहार और रक्तपात के विरुद्ध भारत सरकार को जितना सचेत होना चाहिए था, जितना सक्षम होना चाहिए था, जितनी भारत सरकार को जिम्मेदारी निभानी चाहिए थी, वह कुछ भी देखने को नहीं मिल रहा है बल्कि पिछली बार जब पूर्व प्रधानमंत्री देवेगौड़ा जी उधर गए थे तो आपके अधिकारियों ने, आई०ए०एस० अधिकारियों ने उनसे मिलने की चेष्टा की,

उनको अपनी स्थिति बताने की चेष्टा की, लेकिन तब भी कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया गया। उनके बच्चों के अपहरण हो रहे हैं, उनकी हत्याएं हो रही हैं और यही कारण है कि बहुत से प्रमुख पद वहां खाली पड़े हैं। अब जब कानून और व्यवस्था की स्थिति यह होगी तो आतंकवाद बढ़ेगा ही।

महोदया, एक आरोप यह भी है, गृह मंत्री जी आपके ध्यान में भी आया होगा, कि अनेक राज्यों पूर्वोत्तर राज्यों के कुछ मुख्यमंत्री वहां के कुछ विधायक और मंत्री इन आतंकवादियों के साथ, इन उग्रवादियों के साथ मिले हुए हैं। इतना ही नहीं, एक और दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण बात यह हुई कि कुछ ऐसे गुटों के साथ कुछ ने समझौता कर लिया है, जिससे कि उनकी अपनी जान बची रहे। उनको एक एलाई माना गया है। यह स्थिति कब तक रहेगी इस देश में कि हमारे यहां का राजनीतिज्ञ, सत्ता में बैठा हुआ राजनीतिज्ञ उग्रवादियों के साथ मिल जाए? अभी कल ही नागालैंड के मुख्यमंत्री जमीर साहब यहां आए थे। उन्होंने एक बयान दिया, अखबारों में छपा। प्रेस कान्फ्रेंस थी। उसमें भी उन्होंने एकदम इंकार किया है कि मैं शामिल नहीं हूं, मेरे बारे में अखबारों में गलत छापा जा रहा है। तो वास्तविकता क्या है? यह बात तो नागालैंड के लोग ही कह रहे हैं कि वहां का मुख्यमंत्री उग्रवादियों के साथ मिलता, बैठता है, उनके साथ उसकी दोस्ती है। यह आपकी जानकारी में होना चाहिए और आई०बी० ने आपको रिपोर्ट दी हुई है। आखिर ऐसी स्थिति से क्या होगा?....**(व्यवधान)**...

श्री एस०एस० अहलुवालिया (बिहार): महोदया, यह ऐसे तथ्य जे सामने लाए जा रहे हैं, कल भी आई०बी० की रिपोर्ट और आज भी आई०बी० की रिपोर्ट का जिक्र, लेकिन आई०बी० की रिपोर्ट गृहमंत्री जी ने नहीं पढ़ी और इन्होंने पढ़ ली? क्या इनके साथ शेयर होती है?...**(व्यवधान)**...

श्री नरेन्द्र मोहन: मेरी अपनी जानकारी में जो है, उस पर बोल रहा हूं...**(व्यवधान)**...

प्रो० विजय कुमार मल्होत्रा (दिल्ली): मैम्बर का अपना राइट है उसका बोलने का।...**(व्यवधान)**...

श्री एस० एस० अहलुवालिया: महोदया, आपको पता है कि नागालैण्ड किस स्थिति में भारत के साथ जोड़ा गया था। यह जो कालिंग अटेंशन है, इस पर ऐसी चर्चा होनी चाहिए, जिससे कि नेशनल इंटीग्रेशन को और मजबूत किया जा सके। ऐसा नहीं होना चाहिए कि हम नार्थ-ईस्ट के लोगों को बदनाम करने का एक तरीका ढूंढ लें यहां पर।...**(व्यवधान)**...

PROF. VIJAY KUMAR MALHOTRA: How can he tell us what we should speak? What is this?...*(Interruptions)*...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Ahluwalia, are you on point of order? If you are on a point of order, then I will listen...*(Interruptions)*...

श्री एस०एस० अहलुवालिया: मैडम, वहां के इलेक्टेड चीफ मिनिस्टर पर आरोप आ रहा है। हम क्या मूकदर्शक बनकर सुनते रहेंगे...**(व्यवधान)**...

SHRI O. RAJAGOPAL: (Madhya Pradesh): He is more concerned about the nicety and not the security...*(Interruptions)*...

श्री नरेन्द्र मोहन: और, मैं जो बोल रहा हूं, गलत बोल रहा हूं।...**(व्यवधान)**...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Ahluwalia, are you on a point of order?

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: Yes, madam...*(Interruptions)*...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: If he raised a poont of order, then I have to answer. If he is just making a point. then all of you take over ...*(Interruptions)*...the thing is that there is insurgency which the Home Minister hemself admitted. Those people who are not present in the House to defend themselves, we do not take their names because they cannot defend themselves, whoever they are. You may put your views, or apprehensions and your anger. Let the Home Minister pinpoit it. You cannot refer to something which is not before the House. The report of the IB is not before the House. It is not part of the discussion. I cannot say whether it is right or wrong. Please confine yourself to the parameters...,*(Interruptions)*...

विपक्ष के नेता (श्री सिकन्दर बख्त): सदर साहिबा, उन्होंने सिर्फ इतना कहा है कि इस किस्म की बातें अखबारात में आई हैं और मैं हकूमत से और होम मिनिस्टर साहब से दरखास्त करता हूं कि हमें असलियत बताएं।

†[بیشاور روڈ جو دلی "شری سکندر بخت": صدر صاحب - انہوں نے صرف اتنا کہا ہے کہ اس قسم کی باتیں اخبارات میں آئی ہیں اور میں حکومت سے اور ہوم منسٹر صاحب سے درخواست کرتا ہوں کہ ہمیں اصلیت بتائیں -]

He is perfectly right. He has only demanded of the Government to give the facts and he is absolutely within his right to say that.

SHRI PARAG CHALIHA (Assam): He has specifically mentioned the name of our Chief Minister and some other Minister which we totally deny. It was only an allegation. They totally deny it...*(Interruptions)*...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I want to put it in a proper manner. We would like the discussion to take place because the life and property of citizens of the North-East are involved. The Home Minister has made statement which gives certain facts and figures. But without substantiating your allegation, don't make any point in the House. Newspapers are not part of the discussion. What appears in the discussion does not substantiate the report.

SHRI SIKANDER BAKHT: He has the right to ask the Home Minister...*(Interruptions)*...It is in this manner that he puts the question and he is absolutely within his right to put his question.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Sikander Bakht, that is what I said at the outset that he has the right to question the Home Minister *(Interruptions)*

SHRI SIKANDER BAKHT: Not question but demand.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It will come in a question form. Is it happening or not? The newspapers are not authentic reports that you can lay them on the Table of the House. So, if you are referring to I.B. Report, they are not part of our records. So please be careful against whom you are making allegations.

श्री नरेन्द्र मोहन: महोदया, मैं निवेदन कर रहा था गृह मंत्री जी से कि वे हमको बताएं कि क्या उनको आई०बी० ने ऐसी कोई रपट दी है कि नागालैंड, मणिपुर, त्रिपुरा या इस तरह के स्टेट, जहां पर इंसरजेंसी है, वहां के राजनीतिज्ञ भी इन इंसरजेंट्स को अपना कोई संरक्षण दे रहे हैं? क्या केटेगारिकली गृह मंत्री जी हमें यह बताना चाहेंगे? गृह मंत्री जी, कृपा करके मेरी बात सुनें। गृह मंत्री जी, आप कृपा करके मेरी बात सुनें।

उपसभापति: वे सुन रहे हैं, उन्होंने कान में आला लगाया हुआ है।

श्री नरेन्द्र मोहन: मैं आपसे निवेदन करूंगा कि आप कृपा करके यह बताएं कि क्या आपके पास आई०बी० से ऐसी कोई रपट आई है? क्या आपकी जानकारी में है कि वहां आई०ए०एस० या आई०पी०एस० के लोगों की हत्याएं हुई हैं? क्या आपकी जानकारी में है कि आपके अधिकारी वहां जाने के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं? आखिर सारी समस्या क्या है? सारी समस्या, जहां तक मैं समझ सकता हूं, महोदया, वह यह है कि पूर्वोत्तर राज्यों में जो इंसरजेंसी है, उसकी देखभाल करने की जिम्मेदारी किसकी है, यह किसी को मालूम नहीं है, यह बात आज की नहीं है, पुरानी है, यह नरसिंह राव जी के जमाने में भी थी। अब इसे पी०एम०ओ० देखता है या गृह मंत्रालय देखता है इस कार्य को या इस कार्य को राज्य सरकारें देखती हैं, किसकी जिम्मेदारी है वहां से इंसरजेंसी को समाप्त करने की, यह तो बताना पड़ेगा न। अभी थोड़े दिन पहले की बात है, गृह मंत्री जी की जानकारी में शायद यह बात हो लेकिन सदन की जानकारी में नहीं थी, कि नवम्बर के महीने में पी०एम०ओ० ने राजेश पायलट साहब को विदेश भेज दिया कि वहां जाकर के, इंसरजेंट्स के लीडर्स से बात करके वे...**(व्यवधान)**...

उपसभापति: विदेश?

श्री नरेन्द्र मोहन: जी हां। मैं आपको पढ़कर सुना सकता हूं यह बात।

श्री एस० एस० अहलुवालिया: मैडम, यह अखबार की बातें और आई०बी० की बातें, इनका कुछ तो तथ्य होना चाहिए। ...**(व्यवधान)**...

श्री विष्णु कान्त शास्त्री (उत्तर प्रदेश): हर रोज़ यहां अखबार की बात होती है ...**(व्यवधान)**...

श्री एस० एस० अहलुवालिया: राजेश पायलट इस सदन के सदस्य नहीं हैं, अगर कुछ गलत बयानी की

†[] Transliteration in Arabic Script.

जाती है तो वे कैसे प्रोटेक्ट करेंगे अपने आपको? ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री विष्णु कान्त शास्त्रीः हर रोज़ ये अखबार की बात करते हैं, हम अखबार की बात करते हैं तो इनको आपत्ति होती है। ...(व्यवधान)...

SHRI BANGARU LAXMAN (Gujarat): He can quote. *(Interruptions)*

श्री त्रिलोकी नाम चतुर्वेदी (उत्तर प्रदेश): अखबारों में यह आ चुका है। ...(व्यवधान)... पूर्व प्रधान मंत्री के संदर्भ में यह चीज़ आ चुकी है। ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री एस॰ एस॰ अहलुवालियाः नहीं, नहीं। इस संदर्भ में ऐसा कुछ नहीं आया। ऐसी गलत बयानी मत करिए। ...(व्यवधान)... न नरसिंह राव यहां आ सकते हैं, न राजेश पायलट यहां आ सकते हैं। ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री त्रिलोकी नाथ चतुर्वेदीः विदेशी जमीन पर कभी-कभी इंसरजेंट्स से बात करने का प्रश्न आया है। ऐसा हुआ है या नहीं हुआ, वे बता दें? ...(व्यवधान)...

SHRI NARENDRA MOHAN: Madam, I am reading a special report.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No, I would again like to bring to your notice that you cannot authenticate the news of a newspaper. Can you authenticate it?

SHRI NARENDRA MOHAN: I am only seeking clarifications. Is it correct or not? There is a news item...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Where the news item?

SHRI NARENDRA MOHAN: He should only clarify whether the news report is correct or not.

श्री विष्णु कान्त शास्त्रीः मैडम, आप अखबारों के उल्लेख पर ...(व्यवधान)...

उपसभापतिः शास्त्री जी, आप बैठ जाइए।

श्री विष्णु कान्त शास्त्रीः मैडम, मैं अपनी जानकारी के लिए जानना चाहता हूं कि क्या आप अखबारों के उल्लेख पर निषेध लगा रही हैं? क्या इस सदन में कोई सदस्य अखबार का उल्लेख नहीं कर सकता?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I do not want to argue with you. Please sit down. Let me explain as to what news we take and what news we authenticate. if the news is about a Member of the Lok Sabha it should not be referred here.

श्री सिकन्दर बख्तः सदर साहिबा, सवाल यह है कि वह सिर्फ यह कह रहे हैं कि अगर अखबार की रिपोर्ट गलत है तो होम मिनिस्टर कह दें कि गलत है, ऑथैंटिकेट करने का सवाल कहां पैदा होता है? Madam, he has neither based his observations on newspaper reports nor has he asked him to authenticate it. He is only saying that such a report has appeared in the newspapers. He wants to know whether that report was right or wrong. It is perfectly all right to ask that. No authentication can be asked for in this manner.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: One minute. If he is referring to some newspaper report, he has to tell the House the name of the paper and the date of its publication. He cannot just say that it has appeared in some newspaper.

SHRI NARENDRA MOHAN: Madam, I am giving that. Kindly permit me.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We have never done it before. In a Calling Attention, discussions are based on the Minister's statement and your information. But your information does not seem to be...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI NARENDRA MOHAN: I am just referring to a report published in the *Statesman* on 22nd February under the caption 'PMO in dilemma over NSCN move' "The problem is that the Prime Minister's Office, the Union Home Ministry and Mr. S.C. Jamir-led Nagaland Government have adopted conflicting postures even though this militant outfit is now a divided house and a demoralised lot. For over four months now, an NSCN faction has been in touch with various functionaries in the United Front Government."

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA: Madam, he does not know the topography of Nagaland and he is talking about NSCN.

It is very unfortunate for this country that a man who does not know the topography of Nagaland is talking about it ...*(Interruptions)*... It is unfortunate for the country.

श्री विष्णु कान्त शास्त्री: ये टोपोग्रॉफी जानते है...(**व्यवधान**)

श्री त्रिलोकी नाथ चतुर्वेदी: ये समझते हैं कि हम अपनी आवाज़ से सबको दबा देंगे ...(**व्यवधान**)

श्री एस० एस० अहलुवालिया: जिसको नागालैंड के इतिहास का पता नहीं है, जिसको नागालैंड की ज्योग्रॉफी का पता नहीं है वह नागालैंड की बात कर रहा है ...(**व्यवधान**) ये पूरे देश को विभ्रांत करने के लिए बोल रहे है ...(**व्यवधान**)

श्री विष्णु कान्त शास्त्री: इनको क्या आता है? ...(**व्यवधान**)

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA: Before speaking in the House, you must be aware of the facts. You cannot jut quote from a newspaper report ...*(Interruptions)*...

श्री सिकन्दर बख्त: टोपोग्रॉफी सिखाएंगे आप हमको ...(**व्यवधान**)

[اردو عبارت: ٹوپوگرافی سکھائیں گے آپ ہم کو؟ ...مداخلت]

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA: Yes, he should understand the topography of Nagaland.

मैडम, सदन में यह मामला उठाने का मकसद क्या है? अगर देश की एकता और अखंडता को तोड़ने के लिए विभ्रांत करने के लिए यह माध्यम ढूंढा गया है, तो गलत है ...(**व्यवधान**)

श्री त्रिलोकी नाथ चतुर्वेदी: आप चर्चा करें तो जिसके बारे में चाहे कहते रहें और दूसरे बोलें तो ...(**व्यवधान**)

श्री विष्णु कान्त शास्त्री: महोदया, आप कोई निर्देश तो दीजिए उनको, हर बार खड़े हो जाते हैं ...(**व्यवधान**)

SHRI SIKANDER BAKHT: Is he a master of topography? ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI NARENDRA MOHAN: Madam, I am only seeking a clarification from the Home Minister as to whether this news report which was published in the *Statesman* on 23rd February is correct or not. I am only seeking a clarification. I am quoting again.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please don't repeat it. Your time is also over now.

SHRI NARENDRA MOHAN: Madam, it is a very important matter and I would only take a couple of minutes more. "It was at the PMO's behest that a former Internal Security Minister, Mr. Rajesh Pilot, made a day's flying visit to Bangkok on 17th November" ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI JANARDHAN POOJARY (Karnataka): Madam, I am on a point of order.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: One minute, Mr. Mohan. Mr. Poojary is on a point of order.

SHRI JANARDHAN POOJARY: Madam, Mr. Pilot is not a Member of this House.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: yes, I told him.

SHRI JANARDHAN POOJARY: In spite of that, he is repeatedly quoting him. It is nothing but indiscipline and he is talking against your order ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI TRILOKI NATH CHATURVEDI: It has appeared in the newspapers. Let the Minister deny it.

SHRI JANARDHAN POOJARY: Please hear me.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Chaturvedi, we are all so naive that we don't know who Mr. Rajesh Pilot is?

SHRI TRILOKI NATH CHATURVEDI: The *Statesman* is not naive. It is a responsible paper.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let me say something. Newspapers can write

*[] Transliteration in Arabic.

about members of both Houses of Parliament. And you know what the convention in this House is. If there is any matter relating to him, it can be raised in the other House so that he has the privilege to offer personal explanation. Mr. Rajesh Pilot cannot come here ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Just a second. I don't think the Home Minister can give a personal explanation on behalf of Mr. Rajesh Pilot. So, please don't mention his name ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI TRILOKI NATH CHATURVEDI: Madam, I am being misunderstood. The question is whether PMO sent somebody or not. He is not asking the Home Minister to give a personal explanation.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Then don't take names.

SHRI NARENDRA MOHAN: Okay, Madam, I will abide by your instructions.

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: Madam, I want to make a small observation. I have been listening to the references being made to a large number of names. Now, in order to facilitate the proceedings of the House and also to facilitate the work of the Minister, it is the time-honoured Parliamentary practice being followed in both the Houses that if we want to mention the name of a person who is not a Member of the house, we should give notice to the Minister that in the course of discussion we will refer to such and such names so that the Minister comes prepared. Then there will be no question of any objection.

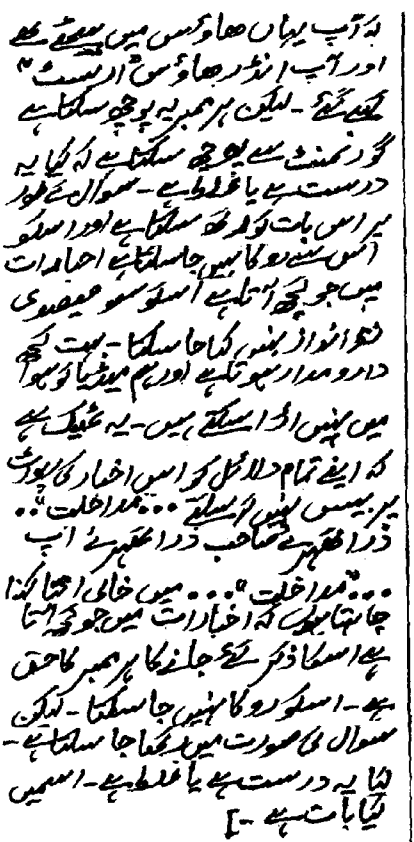
Then, Mr. Chaturvedi was eulogising a particular newspaper. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI TRILOKI NATH CHATURVEDI: Just a minute, Madam. I was not eulogising ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: I am on my legs. So, I am referring to that newspaper. It is on record in the proceedings of this House of January, 1985 that when I was a Member of this House and I was sitting here, according to a report in that newspaper I was under house-arrest. This is the authenticity of the newspaper report. There was a furore in the House over this and also how the matter should be taken care of. Therefore, let us not go by emotions. Let us not quote freely from whatever appears in newspapers. That is not the Bible or the gospel truth. Let us follow the time-honoured Parliamentary practice of writing to the Ministers and giving notices that such and such names are going to be referred by us in our discussion.

श्री सिकन्दर बख्त: सदर साहिबा, मुझे आनरेबल मेंबर की इस बात से इत्तफाक है कि नाम मेंशन न किए जाएं जो हाऊस में मौजूद न हों, उनको अवोइड किया जाए। लेकिन दूसरी चीज के बारे में मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि अगर किसी न्यूजपेपर में कोई खबर आती है वह ठीक है जिस तरह की आपने कोट की है वह बहुत ही गलत थी कि आप यहां हाऊस में बैठे थे और आप अंडर हाऊस अरेस्ट कहे गए। लेकिन हर मेंबर यह पूछ सकता है, गवर्नमेंट से पूछ सकता है कि क्या यह दुरुस्त है या गलत है। सवाल के तौर पर इस बात को रख सकता है और उसको उससे रोका नहीं जा सकता है। अखबारात में जो कुछ आता है उसको सौ फीसदी नजर-अंदाज नहीं किया जा सकता, बहुत कुछ दारोमदार होता है और हम मीडिया को हवा में नहीं उड़ा सकते हैं। यह ठीक है कि अपने तमाम दलायल को उस अखबार की रिपोर्ट पर बेस नहीं कर सकते। ...**(व्यवधान)** जरा ठहरिए साहब, जरा ठहरिए आप। ...**(व्यवधान)** मैं खाली इतना कहना चाहता हूं कि अखबारात में जो कुछ आता है उसका जिक्र किए जाने का हर मेंमबर को हक है, उसको रोका नहीं जा सकता। लेकिन सवाल की सूरत में रखा जा सकता है। क्या यह दुरुस्त है या गलत है, उसमें क्या बात है।

[] Transliteration in Arabic.



SHRI TRILOKI NATH CHATURVEDI: Madam, I also want to make a small point. *(Interruptions)*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No, no. Are we discussing how to run this House? *(Interruptions)*

SHRI TRILOKI NATH CHATURVEDI: madam, he took my name. I am not eulogising any particular newspaper. I am talking about the national Dailies in general. I think a Member who quotes something from a newspaper in this House does so with a sense of responsibility. I am very sorry to hear what Shri Pranab Mukherjee mentioned. But none of us takes it as the gospel truth or the Bible for that matter. One applies one's mind and then only one speaks here.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: What pains me here is that we are having a very important discussion ...*(Interruptions)* Mr. Ahluwalia please keep quiet. We are having a very important discussion in the House ...*(Interruptions)* आपको भी मैं बोलूंगी, थोड़ी देर चुप नहीं रह सकते आप चतुर्वेदी जी। ...(व्यवधान)

Let me direct. Why are you getting irritated? I don't get irritated when all of you speak at the same time. You are interrupting me when I am saying some thing from the Chair. It is very improper. I never get angry or irritated. So, we are discussing a very important matter. The Home Minister has come with his statement. All of you are very much concerned on this issue. But are we concerned about the issue or are we concerned about taking names? If you structrue your submission in such a way that you get the best out of the Home Minister, then it will be good for the House and good for the country. Why do you make such statements for which you are asked to stop every two minutes? This is my suggestion to you.

SHRI NARENDRA MOHAN: Madam, I will not take any name further. ...*(Interruptions)*... My only intention was...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have given you half an hour. In half an hour, make some points. Actually, in a Calling Attention, you put questions, you don't make a speech. You have already taken half-an-hour. We have only one hour for 14 people. How are they all going to speak?

SHRI NARENDRA MOHAN: All the time has been taken up by my colleagues in interrupting me.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No. It is not. There are many members belonging to that area. I think their views should also be heard. ...*(Interruptions)*... he is not taking... Sikander Bakht Saheb. I am sorry. (व्यवधान)... अभी आप लोग भी चुप हो जाइए। Nobody should speak now. Mr. Salim, please. Let us discuss this problem in seriousness, if you want to discuss it.

SHRI NARENDRA MOHAN:

Madam, this problem of insurgency which I am referring here has also an external dimension. I have already talked about ISI hand in this insurgency. I would also like to refer here that there are certain foreign Christian missionaries which are also indulging, indirectly, in this matter. I am not naming them now because, perhaps, naming will bring controversies.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is alleged!

SHRI NARENDRA MOHAN: It is alleged. Madam, this is not happening for the first time. There was a plan from the late nineteenth century to convert the whole area of North-East into a Christian kingdom. There was a Crown colony plan and accordingly these missionaries who were there did not allow... They preached in such a manner to inject poison in the minds of those tribals so that they think that they are not Indians and this ethnical...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Again allegation, it is. You have not authenticated it. ...(*Interruptions*)... It is an allegation again.

SHRI NARENDRA MOHAN: Madam, I have brought a couple of books here, but due to paucity of time I am not quoting them here. One book is—Naga Insurgency—written by Dr. M. Horam and the other is—Re-organisation of North East India since 1947—written by Shri B. Datta Ray and Shri S.P. Agarwal. I am only giving you the gist. This is what has been reported and put in these books. Now, I seek a clarification from the hon. Home Minister. Is there any hand of these Christian missionaries in this insurgency? How are they getting money? Who is financing them?

Madam, there is another allegation. Money is being sent from the Government of India to these areas. For example, during the last 25 years, approximately Rs. 30,000 crores have been sent to Nagaland whose population is only about 11 lakhs. If you divide Rs. 30,000 crores by the population of the State, then the amount sent per person comes to Rs. 25 lakhs or Rs. 26 lakhs. Still there is poverty and unemployment. All these problems are creating insurgency in that area. I think an attempt should now be made to give them a better economic plan. What are the plans, economic plans for those areas so that insurgency can be stopped? I would like to know about them. About Rs. 6,000 crores have been given to that area by our former Prime Minister, Shri H.D. Deve Gowda when he visited that area. How is that money going to be spent? Will that money go to those poor people or will it again go to those politicians who have been masterminding corruption? I seek all these clarifications from the hon. Minister. I think the Minister will be kind enough to tell me about these basic problems. Why... ...(*Interruptions*)...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Okay. Thank you. Now, let me call another person. Shri Angou Singh.

(The Vice-Chairman, Shri Mohd. Salim, in the Chair)

SHRI W. ANGOU SINGH (Manipur): Madam, I also participate in this calling attention moved by Narendra Mohan with regard to the increasing insurgency in the North-Eastern States. I will refer mainly to my own State. The representatives of other States may also be participating. They will bring their problems before the House. Madam, the North-Eastern Region has 1,125 kms. long international border with China, 498 kms. with Bhutan, 1,643 kms. with Myanmar and 1,187 kms. with Bangladesh. The hills and basins of this area are a mixture of high mountain ranges and plateaus. It is 60 per cent of the whole region.

As we all know, Manipur was formally merged with the Indian Union on 15th October, 1949 as a British-ruled princely State, whether big or small, under negotiations into the polity of a United India. The problem of unrest among the

younger generation has arisen due to the long negligence shown by the Central Government. We all know that the country started its Five Year Plans in 1951 for its sovio-economic development. But, it is a fact and nobody denies it that a sum of Rs. 1.55 crore was approved for the State for the year 1951—56. It was given in the beginning. Even up to the Second Five Year Plan, only Rs. 6.25 crores were allotted to the State. In this way up to the sixth Plan, from 1980 to 1985, Manipur got only Rs. 423.93 crores. Due to this attitude of the Central Government, Maniput occupies a very low place as far as infrastructural development of the State is concerned. The State lags behind in the race of development throughout the country by 21 per cent in respect of infrastructure development. In the case of road density, *per capita* energy consumption, etc., the State is lower than the national average. The *per capita* income is far below the national average. Due to this position, the qualified younger generation now feels as to how and why manipur was merged with India, whether the merger gives the independence and whether the princely independent State has now acquired the status of third position, that is, Part C State and whether the merger allows the State to be only dependent of the Indian Union with a begging bowl for the socio-economic development of the State. These are the feelings of the younger generation. Hence, we, the believers of the mainstream, have become a target of this discontentment and disheratened youth in this region which breeds the insurgent movement. The insurgent organisations, like PLA started in 1978, PEEPA in 1997, the UNLF in 1964 and the KCP in 1990. The insurgency did not start before the merger of Manipur with India. It started after 30 years after the merger. This shows that this region has been neglected for more than 30 years. This is the main cause of insurgent movements in this region. In order to control such organisations and to prevent the younger generations from joining them, some special measures should be taken by the Government of India. We do not want to blame anybody because even attempts have been made many times on the lives of the persent Chief Ministers of Nagaland and Manipur. How will we take them by saying that they are also cooperating with those insurgent elements? I am quite denying that the money which has been given to this region has been misused. Though the population may be less, the area is a bigger one. Moreover, the area cannot be developed within a short span of time because it will take time. It depends upon the situation. It depends upon the geographical position of the area, also. This area is toally isolated from the mainsteam of the country. All these things are to be noted by every party. If every party does not understand the present situation of this region, I do not like to hear anything from any party. The other hon. Member may take me otherwise, but this is only my view. So, in order to control such organisation, we have to do. The problems which emanate among the younger generations are not taken up effectively through a proper policy of economic development, self-employment schemes and effective law and order machinery. This is common to all the States.

The next point is, since the movement is merely dependent upon the sentiments, we have to do some sentimental works which are now lying pending in this region. The Assam Rifles from the area of Kangla, which is a very religious place for the people of Manipur, has to be shifted. I, myself, raised this issue ealier also in this House. The hon. Home Minister had also visited that place. He also announced to the people, "I will consult with the hon. Defence Minister to shift the Assam Rifles from this area." But, still the Assam Rifles is taking shelter there for its own benefit, not for the law and order situation of the area. This is a sentimental one. Such type of sentimental work should be taken up

immediately. If it is delayed, then such delay becomes dangerous.

The next point is about the situation in Manipur. The State of Manipur has no railway line, has no water way, it has got only the National Highway Nos. 39 and 53 which are the lifeline of the State. But, these lines are also not properly taken up by the Centre. As a result, everyday, different incidents are happening on these lines. These are to be taken up properly in the interest of the State of Manipur lest the younger generation may take otherwise because they have been learning lessons from outside Manipur, outside developed States of this country. So, they know the situation of the other developed States and when they come to their own State, they may take otherwise on those lines. Hence, the Government of India must look into it.

Another point is, the other day, I have raised about a separate Ministry for the North-East area as a Special Mention. It is quite essential because the Ministers working here in the North-Block or the South-Block or Shastry Bhavan or at other bhavans do not understand the situation here in the North-East. In order to understand the actual position, the actual situation of the area, a separate Minister for the North-East area should be kept, appointed like that of Jammu and Kashmir.

The answer given is: 'We will consider'. How long would you take to consider this question? If you want to improve the situation, the decision should be taken quickly. This is another point I wanted to place before the Home Minister.

Another point is about the extension of Sixth Schedule to the hill areas. I had raised this issue earlier also. If the people of the hill areas want it, why should it be delayed? Why should it be kept pending? It should be extended. As you know, the people in the villages are now having autonomy, in terms of the Seventy-Third and Seventy-Fourth Amendments. In the same way, if the hill people want that the Sixth Schedule should be extended, it should be extended. But is has not been done yet. This has been pending for many years even now.

Then, Sir, the then Prime Minister, Shri Deve Gowda, had announced an economic package for the North-East. But no money has been released so far in this regard. The announcement was made, but where is the money? The State Government does not have the money. Mere announcement of a package is not enough. The mover of the Calling-Attention was saying that the money had been misused. I do not agree with him. There has been no release of money so far to this region, in terms of the economic package announced by the then Prime Minister. *(Interruptions)*.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Shri Vizol, please. Mr. Angou Singh, have you completed your speech?

SHRI W. ANGOU SINGH: I am concluding.

Sir, the North-Eastern Region is lagging behind in regard to development programmes. We must have a plan for the development of this region. From the point of view of the unity and integrity of the country, this is very essential. If the Government of India wants to strengthen the unity and integrity of the country, at least, in the Ninth Five-Year Plan, the Infrastructure Equalisation Plan must be included. I had raised this point in the House. I do not know how far they would take it into account. I do not know why there is a delay in this. Simply mentioning it is not enough. If this plan is taken up, the people in the North-Eastern Region would feel that something is being done for them.

Now, we have the border area. I had mentioned about it. The people in the border area are living from hand to mouth. They have no other means of livelihood. They extend their help to the smugglers, racketeers and insurgents to cross the border. I had raised this issue

also in the House. I do not know how far it has been taken into account. This is the situation prevailing in the border area.

All these things have to be properly looked into. If these things are properly looked into, some response would be there; the situation would improve. The insurgents would also know that something is being done. These are my views; not of any body. These are my views. If something is done for the North-Eastern Region, automatically, the response would be good. Otherwise, the present situation would continue. In fact, it would become worse day by day. (Time-bell rings)

Sir, another point is: in the North-Eastern Region, there is a restriction on the entry of outsiders. There is the inner-line permit system. There is a restriction on the entry of people from outside into this area. We are talking about economic liberalisation and all that. But if you have kept such a restriction, how can the process of economic liberalisation come into this region? What is the necessity for keeping this restriction? What is the necessity for retaining the inner-line permit system? It should be removed. If the people want it, if the State Government wants it, it should be removed.

Therefore, all these things have to be looked into. If that is done, the situation would improve. Use of force would not solve the problem. Use of force is not going to solve the problem. Some development programmes have to be taken up. Some sentimental issues have to be resolved. If these things are done, there would be a change in the situation which, in turn, would help in strengthening the unity and integrity of the country.

Thank you, Sir.

SHRI VIZOL (Nagaland): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, thank you for giving me time to speak on this Calling-Attention motion. I will not take much time; I will not repeat what my other friends have said. I have got something in writing; let me read it out.

Sir, the North-East of India is linked with the mainland of the sub-continent, which is called India, by a very narrow strip of land along the Siliguri corridor at the trijunction of West Bengal, Bihar and Bangladesh. The North-East comprises eight States including Sikkim. It constitutes one-twelfth of the sub-continent.

Under the British regime, Assam was a provincial State in the North-East. During the partition an attempt was made by the Centre to club Assam with Bengal. The Naga National Council, the only socio-political organisation, registered its protest in the resolution against the proposal for clubbing Assam with Bengal. Today Assam stands fractured. It struggles in a deluge of illegal migration. Assam and all its adjoining States which constitute the "North-East" are reeling under military and militant boots.

Militancy which had started in the Free Naga Areas in 1954 is the root of all the insurgencies in the North-East. It has now engulfed the whole of North-East. When it had started, the Government of India, instead of trying to remove the causes of insurgency, deployed the Army in Nagaland. India has the second largest army in the world. Today, four to five divisions of the Indian Army are tied up in the North-East for counter insurgency operations. Thus the whole North-East is militarised while Delhi remains a passive spectator, leaving the Army to finish its job. Deploying the Army in all the disturbed areas, whether it is in the North-East or Jammu and Kashmir or Punjab or the Naxal-affected South, will diminish the image of the Army, whose job is for defence of the country from external threat and aggression. besides, use of the Army to seek military solutions to problems which are essentially social and political is damaging the inter-racial ethnic relations of the people and is causing alienation.

The problems in the North-East are all

human problems. Though problems in one area may slightly differ from the other, they are all political problems. Problems in Assam and Tripura are almost similar. Due to proximity to alien States, both are faced with massive illegal migrations to the point of being overwhelmed, submerged and outnumbered, resulting in a demographic imbalance in the region. Problems in Manipur and Nagaland are of a different nature. The State of Nagaland was carved out of an area occupied by the British, with new boundaries, cutting Nagaland and its people into pieces, leaving a vast area of land, inhabited by Nagas, under Burma. It is a question of total integration and solidarity of all the Naga areas, including those in Burma. This is an old demand of all the Nagas. The Centre has left all these problems in the North-East in the hands of the Army, seeking military solutions.

Thus the indifference, utter neglect and apathy of the Government at the centre has led these problems to continue for the last fifty years. Now, the former Prime Minister and the present Prime Minister of the United Front Government are offering an unconditional dialogue with the naga militant leaders who are abroad and are at home. It is a welcome gesture. I hope and wish that the Naga leaders would seize this opportunity to start the peace process for the final settlement of the Vexed problems in the State, which will lead to a breakthrough in the problems of other States in the region.

Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Shri Thalavai Sundaram not present. Shri Bratin Sengupta.

SHRI BRATIN SENGUPTA (West Bengal): Sir, the hon. Home Minister has inherited a long-pending problem which has plagued India for many decades.

The problem is a national one, and it should not be viewed only as a regional problem. Nor should it be viewed only as a law and order problem. Nor should it be viewed only as a problem of ethnic crisis or clashes in the North-East. Nor should it be viewed only as an externally-aided insurgency problem. The problem should be looked into in its entirety. It cannot be tackled by bypassing the basic question of backlog of development, infrastructural development of the North-East, which has been pending since the colonial days, since the british days, for centuries.

My point is that it has been repeatedly reported that foreign agencies have engineered recruitment and training of various insurgent groups in the North-East. Then, can it be the responsibility of only the State Governments? Can it be only the responsibility of the people of the North-East to defend themselves against these externally-aided insurgents? The Tripura-Bangladesh border which is more than 839 km. long and the manipur-Burma border which is also a long stretch, have not been fenced yet. This should have been the Central Government's responsibility.

Elven battalions of the BSF were supposed to be posted on the 839 km. long Tripura-Bangladesh border only, but only eight battalions are there, not all of which operational. Two more battalions have been aasured in the statement of the hon. Home Minister, but the requirement will be more. The army, the Assam Rifles and other military and para-military forces are required on many other borders. Only 9 of the 11 police stations in the disturbed areas of Tripura are having permanent posting of the army, which means that in recent years there have been insurgent attacks in the remaining ares. What measures are going to be taken? Can we leave it to the people and the State Governments in the North-East to tackle this problem which has a foreign hand, etc.?

Foreign intelligence agencies are supplying modern devices, from telecommunication equipment to every other modern device, to the insurgents

there. They can travel from here to there. Even rocket-launchers are being provided to them. It takes 24 hours for an ordinary citizens to go from Imphal to Guwahati. There is no way to go from Agartala to Guwahati for an ordinary citizen unless he flies. There is no night-landing facility in any of the airports in the North-East except Guwahati, which means that not more than one aircraft can land or take off before sunset. People to people communication is required to tackle the externally-aided insurgency. How is the communication to be ensured unless the Government takes up infrastructural equalisation plan for the entire North-East? Unless the initiative of the Deve Gowda Government by giving a package programme, and the goodwill visit programme of the hon. Prime Minister, Mr. I.K. Gujral, are backed by a along-term infrastructural equalisation plan for the North-East, which has been pending for centuries, this problem cannot be tackled.

To counter the modern equipment and devices supplied to the externally-aided insurgents, the Government of India should also supply modern equipment, telecommunication devices and other equipment to our armed forces posted over there.

This apart, I want to mention another problem which is also a national problem. Unemployment is a national problem. is there not an additional dimension to the unemployment problem of the North-East? can the Government not stop the reported recruitment base of the externally-aided insurgent groups? Can the Government not disarm these insurgent groups; by stopping their recruitment base, by exploring horticulture, biodiversity, micro-hydel generation, the rubber potential, the natural gas potential, tea and other natural resources of the entire North-East? Tripur can be the rubber capital of our country. This is given in the report of the National Rubber Development Council. This is in the tribal areas, where extremism is more frequent, but there is no proposal to industrialise and market the rubber potential of Tripura. The natural gas has been burning out since the British days and we have not taken any measure. Bio-diversity of the Himalayan terrain and the mountaineous terrain of the North-East is the rarest in the world. There are micro-hydel potentials and many things that we have mentioned. So, the additional dimension to the unemployment problem of the North-East can also be solved and the pending backlog of our infrastructural development can be taken up. The Government of Manipur had taken up concrete employment generation programmes for the youths of Manipur, but the nationalised commercial banks functioning in Manipur are not cooperating with them. These concrete State Government plans have been submitted to the Planning Commission and the Government of India.

Sir, I am not apportioning any bias on this subject, but it has been reported and there is every reason to believe, that no insurgent groups has reason to be happy with the continued Indo-Bangladesh dialogue intiated by our Government. The More the Government-to-Government dialogue between India and Bangladesh goes on, these groups will be more unhappy. It is very clear. That has been visible in the recent spurt in insurgency activities in Tripura, attacks on Army Jawans and the CRPF. The hon. Minister has mentioned that in his statement. So, simultaneously while undertaking dialogues, strengtheing relations with the Bangladesh Government and with other neighbouring Governments, I would like to know whether the Government is taking adequate ineasures to pre-empt these desperate attacks, which these insurgent groups having camps in foreign lands are supposed to undertake in future dates out of the fear of getting isolated and out of the fear of strengthening of the people to people relations between the two countries.

I would again request the hon. Home Minister to come up with a national comprehensive package plan comprising of developmental issues, the infiltration issue, the externally backed insurgency issue, ethinic issues and peculiarities of the North-Eastern region. A national comprehensive package plan has been pending in our country not only since the days of the British, but since our Indepenedence as well. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Shri Gurudas Das Gupta. The hon. Member is absent.

SHRI ONWARD L. NONGTDU (Meghalaya): Sir, I am grateful to my colleague, Shri Narendra Mohan, who has called the attention of the Hon. Minister to this important matter, because I, myself, had tried to call the attention of the Minister during the Winter Session of Parliament, but it was not admitted.

Sir, in spite of the fact that the security personnel have done a commendable job to control the situation during the past few decades in the North East, yet, even according to the statement of the hon. Home Minister, more than 1,200 civilians and more than 270 security personnel were killed during the last two years.

We could imagine the sufferings, and hardships that are being faced by the families of those who have lost their near and dear ones.

Sir, I know for sure that there are many reasons that led to insurgency in the North-East. It has been a practice when the right people, who have been creating trouble, could not be caught, the wrong people were blamed. In this case I would say that the Christian missioneries in the North-East were blamed. In fact, without them most of the people from the North-East would not have been able to obtain their elementary education for the last so many years. Perhaps, the Lok Sabha would not have witnessed a Speaker this time from our side. Though it has been said like that it is very wrong. I would say that this is not a fact. As my colleague, Shri Angou Singh has stated, one of the effective measures to deal with the North-East affairs is to create a separate Ministry for North-East affairs.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, while participating in this discussion, I have only one main point to make. As stated by my colleague, the insurgency in the North-East is not a new phenomenon. It has started in Nagaland, in the early fifties. Since then it continued. One very bad thing that happened was the young people were attracted to this sort of commando warfare. Even a few rebel leaders were worshipped by the young people in those areas. So far what we have seen in the newspapers and according to a few reports, the main causes of insurgency were stated to have been political and economic. Of course, neglect of the region and neglect of the needs of the people were to some extent reasons of.... (*Interruptions*)... Most of the people from the main land did not know about the habits and the characteristic of the people in the North-East. Most of the people in the North-East, especially the tribals were not in the habit of having verbal fights. Whenever they demanded anything from anybody or for this matter from the Government of India or even from their own State Governments, and they were not listened to, even after making a demand for two or three times, they would keep quiet, and think of a way of how to deal with the situation by themselves. This very often has led to violent actions.

Sir, though the hon. Home Minister has stated that the situation is good and peaceful in Meghalaya and Arunachal Pradesh. I would like to state that whenever security personnel or the Army was used to comb any area, whether it was in Nagaland or Manipur or Tripura or Assam, those insurgent groups and leaders came to my State, Meghalaya or Arunachal Pradesh to seek shelter. I think the Home Ministry should take

note of this. Whenever such operations are conducted in any State, other peaceful States should be safeguarded so that those States are not used as shelter by the insurgent groups.

As a layman, I would say that our of the most important causes or reasons for insurgency in the North-East is corrupt practices. I would like to cite a few examples. These corrupt practices are there whether it is in the Govt. administration, or religion, or social life.

The people who are worshipped as leaders speak what they do not practise and practise what they do not speak. So, the younger generations are confused. They want to become top leaders like them either in the field of religion or in the field of education or in the field of social work or in the field of administration or in the field of politics. Trying to become leaders like them and to become popular and to get rich overnight, they find out way and means to let out their tension. The way to let out their tension is to rob banks, to kill people, to go to some neighbouring countries which are friendly to them and give them training. Whenever I get a chance, I urge the authorities to set up an Expert Committee to do an in-depth, intensive study and find out the causes of insurgency in the North-East. I appreciate whatever action the Central Government have been taking in the past and whatever action the State Governments have taken in the past. But I do not think it will be possible to deal with insurgency either in the North-East or in any part of India without trying to get at the root-causes of the problems.

There have been reports that the highest drop-out rate of students in the country is in the North-East. May I give you the reason? If you take two schools in the North-East, a Missionary School and the Government School, you will find that there is less than ten per cent drop-out rate in the missionary school whereas the drop-out rate is 60-70 per cent in the Government school. What is the reason? Few teachers were appointed in the primary schools, even elementary schools, and they do not even know how to make their signatures. What is this? So, the drop-outs would be there. Some students, intelligent by nature, are having more knowledge than the teachers. So, why should they continue in school? So drop out, and they do not have anywhere to go. Unemployment crops up; poverty is there. And the easiest way to let out everything is to join the insurgency groups in the region.

So, here again, I would urge the hon. Home Minister to set up immediately an Expert Committee, involving senior and knowledgeable persons of the North-East, to go into the real reasons for insurgency during the last few decades and deal with the situation as such. Only then, I believe, the Government of India would be able to keep the area peaceful in the near future. Thank you.

श्री ईश दत्त यादव (उत्तर प्रदेश): सम्मानित उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस अविलम्बनीय लोक महत्व के विषय पर पूर्वोत्तर राज्यों में बढ़ते हुए विद्रोह की ओर गृह मंत्री जी का ध्यान आकर्षित किया गया है और गृह मंत्री जी ने अपने बयान में जो विद्रोह की स्थिति है पूर्वोत्तर राज्यों में और सरकार इसको दबाने के लिए, इसको खत्म करने के लिए जो प्रयास कर रही है, उसका इन्होंने वर्णन भी किया है। लेकिन जो आंकड़े हैं, मान्यवर, उनके हिसाब से लगता है कि बहुत वर्षों तक सरकार के प्रयास के बाद भी स्थिति में सुधार होने के बजाय यह गंभीर होती जा रही है। गृह मंत्री जी के बयान में है कि पूर्वोत्तर राज्यों में जो सात राज्य हैं वहां नागरिकों की भी हत्याएं हो रही हैं। और फोर्स के लोगों की भी हत्याएं हो रही हैं। लेकिन मेरी राय में विद्रोह को दबाने के लिए या पूर्वोत्तर राज्यों की समस्याओं को हल करने के लिए सरकार को इच्छा शक्ति की जरूरत है और कारण ढूंढना पड़ेगा कि इस विद्रोह का रूट कॉज़ क्या है। जैसे कोई आदमी बीमार हो जाए और अंदाजे से दवा दे दी जाए तो करैक्ट डाएग्नोज नहीं होने पर वह ठीक नहीं होगा, दवा का रिएक्शन हो जाएगा, थोड़ी देर के लिए तो वह रोग दूर हो जाएगा पर फिर कोई दूसरा रोग निकल आएगा। इसलिए मान्यवर, मैं आपके माध्यम से गृह मंत्री जी से जो बहुत अनुभवी नेता हैं, उन्होंने बहुत अध्ययन भी किया है। मैं चाहता हूं कि यह और सरकार

अपनी इच्छा शक्ति इस विद्रोह को खत्म करने के लिए बनाए। जब तक उनमें इच्छा शक्ति नहीं होगी, तब तक इस समस्या का हल नहीं होगा। पैराग्राफ 6 में, अपने बयान के पैराग्राफ 6 में गृह मंत्री जी ने इस विद्रोह को दबाने के लिए या समाप्त करने के लिए कहा है, यह ठीक है लेकिन इससे समस्या का हल नहीं होगा।

> "In order to assist the State Governments of the insurgency affected North-Eastern States, the Central Government have inducted units of the Central Para Military Force and the Army, declared the most seriously affected areas as 'disturbed'...."

आप फोर्स बढ़ा देंगे और किसी एरिया को डिस्टर्ब्ड एरिया घोषित कर देंगे, इससे उग्रवाद या विद्रोह नहीं दबेगा। कारण में जाना पड़ेगा कि यह उग्रवाद या विद्रोह पूर्वोत्तर राज्यों में क्यों है और पूर्वोत्तर राज्यों में ही नहीं, देश के अधिकांश भागों में धीरे-धीरे यह विद्रोह पनप रहा है। मैं समझता हूं कि इसका कारण अशिक्षा है, गरीबी है और सरकार की उपेक्षा है। अगर पूर्वोत्तर राज्यों को ले लिया जाए तो पूर्वोत्तर राज्यों को सरकार ने—चाहे जो सरकार रही हो—उसने उनको नेगलैक्ट किया। उसकी समस्याओं का अध्ययन नहीं किया। प्रकृति की गोद में बसा हुआ स्थान जहां संसाधन भी हो सकते हैं, यहां के लोगों को अगर सुधारा जाए तो वे देश की प्रगति और सुधार में सहायक भी हो सकते हैं लेकिन इस पर सरकार ने ध्यान नहीं दिया है। जब किसी की उपेक्षा होगी, उनकी आर्थिक समस्या हल नहीं होगी, गरीबी बढ़ती चली जाएगी, फ्रसटेरेशन बढ़ता चला जाएगा तो उसका परिणाम उग्रवाद ही होगा, उसका परिणाम विद्रोह ही होगा और सरकार को इस पर गंभीरता से विचार करना पड़ेगा। मैं समझता हूं कि जो भी सरकारें रही हैं, उन सरकारों ने इन परिस्थितियों का अध्ययन नहीं किया कि विद्रोह क्यों बढ़ रहा है। महोदय, अनायास कोई आदमी विद्रोही नहीं होता, जब वह परिस्थितियों के कारण मजबूर होता है, आर्थिक तंगी के कारण परेशान होता है, उसकी उपेक्षा होती है तब वह उग्रवाद की ओर बढ़ता है, जब उसका अपमान होता है, उसकी जायज मांगों पर अगर सरकार ध्यान नहीं देती है तो उसको मजबूर होकर हथियार उठाना पड़ता है और मैं समझता हूं कि पूर्वोत्तर राज्यों की स्थिति कमोवेश से यही है जिस पर सरकार को गंभीरता से विचार करना पड़ेगा। मान्यवर, मैं कुछ सुझाव देना चाहता हूं भारत के गृह मंत्री जी को और भारत की सरकार को कि ठीक है, आपने फोर्स बढ़ा दिया, आपने डिकलेयर कर दिया कि यह डिसटर्ब्ड एरिया है किन्तु इस सबसे समस्या हल नहीं होगी। आपको कुछ और करना पड़ेगा। आप एक एक्सपर्ट कमेटी बनाइए, अच्छे लोगों की कमेटी बनाइए, उसमें अर्थशास्त्री भी हो, विभिन्न दलों के अच्छे नेता लोग भी हो, पूर्वोत्तर राज्यों के नेता लोग भी हों और वह अध्ययन करें कि पूर्वोत्तर राज्यों में जो अशांति है, जो विद्रोह पैदा हो गया है, इसका क्या कारण है? जो उनकी रिपोर्ट आये, जो उनकी संस्तुति आये उनके आर्थिक सुधारों के लिए, उनको सम्मान देने के लिए, उनकी सही मांगों को मानने के लिए उस पर सरकार गम्भीरता से विचार कर के उस रिपोर्ट को माने। श्री नरेन्द्र मोहन जी एक रिपोर्ट भी पढ़ रहे थे, जो होम मिनिस्ट्री की स्टैंडिंग कमेटी की रिपोर्ट है। मैं गृह मंत्री जी से यह जानना चाहूंगा कि क्या आपके मंत्रालय ने उस रिपोर्ट पर गम्भीरता से विचार किया है? अगर विचार नहीं किया है तो जो पार्लियामेंट की स्टैंडिंग कमेटी की रिपोर्ट है उस पर आपके मंत्रालय को गम्भीरता से विचार करना चाहिए और कमेटी के जो सुझाव हैं, उन सुझावों पर आप के मंत्रालय को अमल करना चाहिए। अगर आप उस रिपोर्ट पर अमल नहीं करेंगे और उसको रद्दी की टोकरी में डालते जायेंगे और वहां पर केवल फोर्स बढ़ाते जायेंगे, हथियार सप्लाई करते जायेंगे तो इससे वहां अशांति नहीं दबेगी। क्योंकि आदमी जब दुखी हो जाता है, अपमानित हो जाता है, भूख का शिकार हो जाता है, बेकारी का शिकार हो जाता है तो वह आपके हथियारों से डरने वाला नहीं है, वह आपकी फोर्स से डरने वाला नहीं है। वह तो करो और मरो का नारा दे करके जूझने वाला होता है। इसलिए गृह मंत्री जी आप एक एक्सपर्ट कमेटी अपाइंट कीजिए जो कि स्टैंडिंग कमेटी की रिपोर्ट पर गम्भीरता से विचार करे और आप जल्दी से जल्दी आर्थिक सुधारों को लागू कीजिए।

पूर्व प्रधान मंत्री श्री देवेगौड़ा जी वहां पर गये थे और वह कुछ घोषणाएं वहां पर करके आए थे। मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि सिर्फ घोषणाओं से ही काम नहीं चलेगा आपको उन घोषणाओं पर गम्भीरता से विचार करके अमल करना पड़ेगा। सरकार की ओर से घोषणाएं तो होती रहती हैं—लगा दिया पत्थर कि अस्पताल बनेगा, बीस वर्ष गुजर गये वहां अस्पताल ही नहीं बना और वहां से पत्थर भी गायब हो गया। आप इस तरह की घोषणाएं मत करिए। आपको वहां के लिए व्यावहारिक घोषणाएं करनी पड़ेगी। आप वहां मौके पर जाइये और जिस पैकेज की आप घोषणा कर रहे हैं उसको उसी दिन से या दूसरे दिन से तत्काल लागू करिए जिससे लोगों को

गहत और आराम मिले तथा वे आपके कार्यों से संतुष्ट भी हो जायें। जो लोग विद्रोही हो गये हैं, चाहे किसी भी कारण से विद्रोही हो गये हैं, आप उनको बुलाइये और उनसे बातचीत करिए। हमारे पूर्वोत्तर राज्यों के राजनीतिक दलों के जो लोग हैं, हमारे राष्ट्रीय दलों के जो लोग हैं ये भी विद्रोही लोगों से बातचीत करें और उनसे कहें कि तुम इस देश के नागरिक हो, यह देश तुम्हारा है, विद्रोह करने से यह देश टूट जायेगा, इससे यह देश बंट जायेगा, यह देश बर्बाद हो जायेगा, इसलिए आइये और हम सब मिलकर के तुम्हारी समस्याओं को हल करें और इस देश को एक मजबूत राष्ट्र बनायें। यह संकल्प लेकर राजनीतिक दलों को इस ओर अग्रसर होना चाहिए और इसमें गृह मंत्री जी आपको और भारत सरकार को नेतृत्व करना होगा। जब आप नेतृत्व करेंगे, इस तरह का प्रयास करेंगे, विद्रोही लोगों से बातचीत करेंगे तभी शायद यह समस्या सुलझ सकेगी।

महोदय, मैं अधिक समय नहीं लेना चाहता हूं। इसलिए इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं आपके माध्यम से गृह मंत्री जी से और भारत सरकार से यह अनुरोध करना चाहता हूं कि जब तक आप इच्छाशक्ति नहीं बनायेंगे, दृढ़ संकल्प नहीं लेंगे, आपकी स्ट्रांग विल पावर नहीं होगी इन पूर्वोत्तर राज्यों की समस्याओं को खत्म करने के लिए तब तक आप पूर्वोत्तर राज्यों की समस्याओं को खत्म नहीं कर सकते हैं। आप वहां की समस्याओं को फोर्स से नहीं दबा सकते हैं। इससे यह उग्रवाद बढ़ता चला जायेगा। यह मेरा व्यक्तिगत विश्वास है क्योंकि एक्शन का रि-एक्शन होता है। आप इसे जितना रोकने की कोशिश करेंगे, यह विद्रोह उतना ही बढ़ता जायेगा। आप उनकी समस्याओं का अध्ययन करके उनकी समस्याओं का हल करें। आप उनसे प्रेम पूर्वक वार्ता करें। वह इस देश के नागरिक हैं और मेरा विश्वास है कि वह देश की मुख्यधारा में आने से कभी नहीं हिचकेंगे और उनके मन में भी एक मजबूत जनतंत्र की, एक मजबूत राष्ट्र की कल्पना होगी और वह कल्पना आपके प्रयास से साकार हो सकेगी।

इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं श्री नरेन्द्र मोहन जी को धन्यवाद देना चाहूंगा कि देश की जो एक ज्वलन्त समस्या है गम्भीर समस्या है और जो देश के लिए कई तरह से खतरनाक स्थिति है, उस ओर गृह मंत्री जी और भारत सरकार का ध्यान आकर्षित किया है। बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद।

SHRI PARAG CHALIHA (Assam): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I am thankful to you for giving me this opportunity to speak. While thinking the Member who initiated this discussion, I would like to point out that he made certain observations which called for repudiation. He referred to as many as 24 insurgent groups in the North-East. I would request him to kindly specify them and name them. I come from that area and I know the actual number of insurgent groups there. It is not very pertinent to say before the House that there are as many as 24 militant organisations there. I think it is too much and it will not help in our desire to end this impasse. Sir, the proposer also mentioned about the Chief Minister of Assam and some of the Ministers of Assam being directly connected with them. As I already said, it is just the opposite. The Chief Minister of Assam has been dragged into the scene. Insurgent groups and some of the newspapers of the area have said that he was responsible for bringing the military and the para-military forces to quell the disturbance. He is under constant threat and to dub him as being in league with some of the insurgent groups is something which cannot be dreamt of. Similarly, there were certain references made in newspapers, obviously by interested persons, that some Ministers, two or three names were mentioned, were also in league with some insurgent groups. They categorically denied it on the floor of the Assembly and made detailed statements denouncing it. Therefore, this sort of statements made in this pious House, might tend to create a sense of revolt, dis-sympathy towards the powers that be in the North-East area. Sir, I venture to speak a few words about the past. It was not a sudden upsurge in the North-East as stated by some of the previous speakers from that area. It is a culmination of ages of neglect, particularly, the 50 years since independence. Sir, I do not doubt the *bona fides* of any Member of the House. But many of us seem to be totally ignorant of so many facts of history and facts of Assam's past. We the normally neglected people of Assam are followers

of Shri Shankardev and Shri Madhavdev. Shri Madhavdev is an immortal poet. We Assamese are dubbed as parochial and people who confine ourselves to the interests of Assam and Assamese. Shri Madhavdev, some 400 years ago, wrote this poem. He wrote the poem in the 16th Century. He said,

"Dhanya Dhanya Kalikal Dhanya Nartanathal Dhanya dhanya Bhurata bareshey."

Glory to the iron age.
Glory to the human soul.
Glory and glory to Mother India.

Therefore, to call the people who follow this ideology as parochial and all that is very pitiable. I for one am proud to call myself a freedom fighter. There were certain pages in history where some very unfortunate things occurred. Sir, I am bold to assert that this gentleman, that this man before you put to stake his life for saving about 12 to 13 persons.

2.00 P.M.

Those were very bad days when there was parochial sentiments growing in Assam. Sir, it is very limitedly known that the first martyr against the Britishers, one of the first martyrs at least, is Peoli Phuken. He raised an army from recruits from all the areas of North-East as early as 1830 and he was hanged to death. 1830 was the year in which one of the first martyrs of Indian indepenence gave his life. In 1857, during the Sepoy Mutiny, very few people know that Mani Ram Dewan, another martyr who was later hanged, organised a revolt against the Britishers. All this happens in my constituency, Sibsagar. Sibsagar which happens to be the capital city of Assam, in Ahom regime for over 600 year. It is not very much known that Rani Guidalo of Nagaland was also one of the early fighters for the cause of Nagaland, for the cause of the country and Tirot Singh of Meghalaya fought directly against the Britishers. Same is said about Manipur, be it Tikardnajit. Same is said about Sarbananda Singh of Motok regime in present day, Tinsukia. The Motak is a community from which some of the leaders of these peasant insurgency groups come so we have a tradition of fighting injustice. And this injustice has precisely become our doom, become the cause of our doom because we put all our faith in our leaders and it has resulted in this very uncertain and very deplorable state. Sir, would you believe that no industrial or commercial activity except perhaps a little in the tea industry, was undertaken in Assam for the last 50 years? Not a single undertaking and, Sir, without meaning anything, without casting any aspersions on any area, when the first refinery in the East came up in Barauni with petroleum produced entirely in Assam to carry all the waste up to 700 kms. by newly erecting a pipeline, that to be a little poetic, can be added the first nail in the coffin of Assam's progress and development. A mass movement arose where hundreds and thousands of people were brought into jail. As a result, to pacify their sentiments, rather a toy refinery was established in Guwahati. Sir, it is not possible for you to know that the Barauni refinery had the maximum capacity of 6 million, starting with three million, whereas the toy refinery was, just one million and all this suit the moods of some of the powers that be. So all these things combined. Will you believe, Sir, that for getting the first bridge on the Brahmaputra, the people had to resort to a movement? Hundreds had to go to jail just to demand a bridge, an iron bridge over the Brahmaputra. Had it not been for the Pannu Congress session at Panoa in 1957, that particular bridge over the Brahmaputra would not have been there now. The tea industry, many may not be knowing, was the monopoly of the Britishers, of the British companies. After independence, it was only a change of hands, from British capitalism, it was changed to Indian capitalism. It went into the hands of the Indian capitalists like the Tatas, the Birlas, etc. What we boast of as the only industry in Assam is now controlled by the Indian capitalists with headquarters at no other place than

Calcutta. I refer to all this because those of us who happened to be on our side know that we, the people of Assam had the taste of broad gauge railway line only recently. Even today, it is not fully covered. Only a part of the railway line is broad gauge what has happened so far? All our goods have to go to Siliguri and Alipur Duar first and then change to meter gauge line at Siliguri and other places which takes a lot of time. Even for basic foodgrains, we have to depend on the mercy of the railwaymen, from broad gauge to meter guage. Will you believe, Mr. Vice-Chairman, that we have two States, Manipur and Mizoram, which do not have even an inch of railway line at the moment? Even in Meghalaya and Arunachal, we have some patches of railway line passing along their borders.

Speaking about communications, we have those good old roads. They are as they were some 200-300 years ago without any improvement whatsoever. Assam is possibly the only State, at least in India, where quite a lot of district headquarters are not linked with the main line. Sibsagar which is the centre of ONAC's activities is cut off from the main railway line. Same is the case with Jorhat. Same is the case with Golaghat and Nowgong. All the district headquarters have not been linked up so far. Some districts on the western side do not even have meter gauge railway line. These are some of the reasons which have created a sense of revolt, a sense of frustration, a sense of despair in the minds of the people. This is the culmination of all the earlier happenings.

I am very sorry to refer to one thing. When the Chinese invaded Assam and came as near as Tejpur, do you know the feeling in the minds of the Assamese people? The then Prime Minister, Nehru, in his very important speech to the nation, used the phrase 'my heart goes to the people of Assam'. The people of Assam felt that Assam had already gone under the Chinese rule. This sort of things have created complete disbelief, dissatisfaction, despair in the minds of the people of Assam.

As far as employment is concerned, how is it possible to have employment when you don't have any industry except the tea industry? Barauni was there. The establishment of Barauni has created despair in the minds of the people of Assam. As a result of the awards of the States Reorganisation Commission, Assam had to part with a lot of its space, thus, giving birth to what are now called the seven sisters. At least five of them were part of Assam. The people of Assam felt, well, whatever sacrifices have to be made have to be made only by Assam, not by other States. "Some of the root-causes for this dissatisfiction lie in that particular division. For the last fifty years of independence, no positive steps were taken towards industrialisation, towards opening certain big commercial undertakings where educated people could find some way of stepping in. Nothing was done. There was a reputed economist, Mr. Jain, who headed a commission. The Jain Commission's report was made available fifteen or twenty years back, but nothing was done on those recommendations. It was only for the first time that the Deve Gowda Government had taken the initiative. Thanks to his colleague, the hon. Home Minister, something tangible was done towards the economic development of the area. Personally, I have great faith in our present Home Minister. May I implore upon him that with him as our Home Minister, with his sagacity, with his vast experience as a political leader, with his vast knowledge about things here and elsewhere, we don't intend to think, we don't consider it wise to think, that this insurgency can be tackled only by bullets? We have seen it in history that bullets have never succeeded in quelling insurgency which is very much deep-rooted, which is based in our economic deprivation but it will certainly be very wrong if we dub the entire people of Assam as being extremists, as being rebellious. They are certainly not. I,

being a freedom fighter, can never tolerate any aspersion being cast upon me that I have also joined hands with these people. But then at the same time we cannot allow this sort of things to continue throughout our lives. As it was stated by Mr. Yadav, some ways have to be found. I, therefore, take this opportunity of imploring upon you with folded hands, "Hon. Home Minister, Sir, please do not for heaven's sake, say that the prestige of the Government of India is involved and, therefore, we can't simply negotiate matters and sit with the insurgents and have a dialogue". Peace is far greater in value than the prestige. When the prestige of a region, when the prestige of a country like ours is involved we should not go in for petty things like prestige and all that. I am very sure, if you initiate the measures, the response from the other side will not be found wanting. If they want to have a discussion at some other place, I implore upon you not to put hurdles in doing that. We want peace. We want upliftment of the region. We want peace in India. We want peace all over the country. And that is possible only if a peaceful atmosphere previls. As things stand at present in Assam and the North East, yes, it is not very unnatural for people to think that there is fire raging in the whole of North-East. It may not be a visible fire, but it is an invisible fire that has been raging there in the minds of all of us. It is high time we made the best use of this. Mr. Home Minister, may I respectfully ask you again and implore upon you, let the North-East feel that the golden jubilee year of India's independence has opened all the avenues for its full-fledged economic, industrial and other development? And that is possible only if you with your sagacity and all that, use your good offices to initiate the whole process. I don't think the Government of Assam will put any hurdles in that. They will be very eager for it. While doing so, you will be helping not only the North-East, but also the whole of India. It is generally known that the North-East comprises a total population of not more than three crores, but then these three crores of people want to live in peace, want to live in harmony which they have been denied so far.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, through you, I as one of the freedom fighters, one who is at evening of his life and one who feels himself very proud to be called an Indian, implore upon you not to take this in a parochial manner, not to take it as some insinuations against any other community or any other linguistic group. I implore upon you to use your good-offices, particularly our sagacious Home Minister, I hope would do something tangible to end this impasse. Thank you.

SHRI TARA CHARAN MAJUMDAR (Assam): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I thank you for giving me an opportunity to speak on a very important matter which has been raised by my learned friend. I thank him for bringing this matter for discussion before this august House. I would begin my speech by quoting introduction of a report. This report was prepared by some 14 gentlemen, not from one region, but from all over the country, who visited the North-Eastern States, met cross sections of people, met people in their factories and offices, the security forces and everybody. They have drawn up a comprehensive report. I think my learned friend, the Home Minister, who is a great votary of freedom, who is a lifelong fighter for the downtrodden and who is a great upholder of human rights, fundamental rights and the rule of law, has got a copy of this report with him, if not, I volunteer to give him a copy of the same. This is a very valuable document prepared by responsible gentlemen from all over the country. This is a report on violation of democratic rights by security forces and the impact of the Armed-Forces Special Powers Act on civilians' life in seven States of the North-East. This has been published by the National Campaign Committee Against Militarisation and Repeal of Armed-

Forces Special Powers Act. I could not resist the temptation of quoting some extracts from this publication because it speaks out the minds of the people of the region, it reflects the thinking of the people of the region and it reflects the sentiments of the people of the region.

(THE VICE-CHAIRMAN, MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE, in the Chair)

Madam, with your permission, I quote from the introduction of that report titled: "Seven north-eastern states still on the borders of our consciousness."

I quote, "After military, inter-community killings, encounters with security personnel, or conversely, pretty girls and boys dancing in traditional constumes, the North-East has always been a collage of the most contradictory images. That only reflects how little is known of the reality that lies behind them. The historical alienation of the people of Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura, their present-day suffering at the hands of policy-makers and the military establishment demonstrates the lack of political will to address the root causes of their discontent. Consequently, there is a tacit sanction to the extreme measures adopted by the State in the interest of national security. This has primarily meant excessive militarisation of the region and the promulgation of legislations like the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act, at the cost of the life and liberty of the people of this region. This report is an attempt to understand the impact of such militarisation on normal civilian life, democratic rights, violations by the security forces which purport to be the peacekeepers of the nation and the manner in which the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act serves to legitimise such violations.

The North-East has always been the backwaters of India. The British first reached the plains of Assam in 1826. During the next 80 years they sent several military expeditions to the Cachar plains, Khasi plains, Jaintia plains, Assam Hills, North Cachar Hills, Naga Hills, Garo Hills, Lushai Hills and the North Eastern Frontier Agency-present-day Arunachal Pradesh. It was only in 1904 that the British consolidated their hold over the entire region. Up to 1935 the British experimented with different types of governance of the area, and eventually created the Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas Act of 1935. In turn, the fathers of the Indian Constitution created the VI Schedule in order to form a governable unit out of the North-East.

No doubt the people of the North-East are bound together by common features like terrain, racial characteristics, village systems based on familial ties, absence of caste system, methods of cultivation, relative insularity in the past and a frontier existence. But they are also sharply divided along lines of historically defined identities into tribes and communities like the Ahoms, Bodos, Nagas, Khasis, Garos, Mizos, Meiteis, Tripuris, Apatanis, Kukis and so on. But if the British had not entered the area and constructed it into a frontier region, it would not have been the North-East. Instead, it would have been the gateway of the sub-continent to South-east Asia. Unfortunately the makers of the Indian Constitution and the later—day political masters of India made no attempt to develop a wider understanding of the North-East. And therefore, even in independent India, the North-East has continued to be a frontier region whose control was imperative for strategic reasons. And her people, defiant tribes, who had to be Indianised. In the eyes of Indian nationalists, the dominant Hindu population of Assam became the last bulwark of Indian nationalism in the North-East. This image suited the dominant nationalist politics which marginalised the disciplined and punished the defiant communities.

Until today, the State has failed to acknowledge the ethnic, social and economic chasm that lies between the

people of the North-East and the rest of the country. The extent of their alienation can be judged by the fact that despite claims of integrating them into the national mainstream, it was not until the recent VII Schedule that languages of Tibeto-Chinese origin were recognised as Indian languages. In economic terms, the North-East as a whole is 30 per cent behind the rest of the country, even as its natural resources are freely exploited for the benefit of the nation without a corresponding development of infrastructure and opportunity within the region. It is apparent that the Indian State has failed to respond to local needs and aspirations. Over the years, the politial demands of various communities have manifested themselves as assertions for self-determination that range from seeking greater autonomy within the existing system, to a separate State within the Indian Union, and even complete independence. But all of these have consistently been dealt with as law and order problems."

Now, with this I stop because this introduction has given the true picture of the attitude that has been demonstrated not only by the past rulers but even after the attainment of our independence. Madam, there has been a prolonged and systematic neglect and all sorts of exploitation of the natural resources of the region, to the detriment of the interest of the region neglect to build up infrastructure in the region for encouraging industrialisation and other developmental activities of the area. There is a strong apprehension in the minds of the indigenous people of losing their identity, widespread unemployment, want of opportunities of employment. This and some other reasons have led our boys to take to arms. This is the most unfortunate thing. We have already lost one generation. One generations has gone! This movement is there since 10 or 15 years. Our boys had taken to arms, say in 1979, i.e., just after the Assam Movement. After the Assam Movement, there has been an agreement, Assam Accord, entered into by the then Rajiv Gandhi Government and the people of Assam. This Assam Accord has also contained certain conditions which have not been fulfilled at all. The conditions of the Assam Agreement have not been fufilled and have not been addressed to, even after a lapse of decades. The agreement not been given any importance. Some of the boys took to arms because this Government is not doing anything for them. That is the feeling. Assam, as you know, is full of natural resources but these natural resources are being exploited not for the benefit of the indigenous people but for the people who have come from outside. That is the position. There is no scope. Madam, Assam is as it was at the time of achieving our independence. Our people suffered much. People like us also. We were in the vortex of the War in 1942 and even before that we suffered a lot. Scores of our people laidown their lives, faced gallows and even after fifty years of independence if people feel, and rightly so, that they have been neglected then what is the other alternative? The only alternative for these young boys is to take to arms. Of course, it should not be. A feeling is there that perhaps, the entire people of the North-East are secessionists and anarchists. That is not the thing. If you create conditions, there would be no scope for secessionists. Give them equal treatment in economic matters. There is no proper infrastructure in the entire region. Well, one can argue that there should be some industry. It is argued since there are no railways, there cannot be any industry. If you say, let there be some railway then they will say, since there are no industries, there cannot be any railway. This is the argument being advanced so long. This the argument we have been hearing.

The present Government has admitted that Assam, rather, most of the North-Eastern Region is neglected. This has been admitted. This has been admitted after so many years.

Now, we often hear of some special

schemes, this and that, to bring this area on part with the rest of the country. But nothing is being done. The then Prime Minsiter, Shri Deve Gowda, made an announcement in regard to an economic package for the North-East. It is said that they are going to spend Rs. 6,100 crores. This announcement was given a very wide publicity. But we do not find any reflection of this announcement in the Budget. How are you going to spend it? What are the specific programmes, what are the specific plans, you are going to implement? Nothing has been mentioned.

I think we will have to another special discussion on the economic condition of the North-East and how our people are being hoodwinked by making false promises. These are false promises. Madam, I want to submit that there are attempts by people from outside the region to sabotage these projects. There are instances and instances. I think we will have to discuss these things also.

Madam, this insurgency problem is really a very serious problem. It is not the problem of Assam and the rest of the North-Eastern Region alone. It is a national problem. If the nation is alive to the problem, some sincere efforts would have to be made to solve it.

It has been admitted even by the military officers. The Chief of the Army Staff is also on record of having said that this problem was a political problem and that it has got to be solved politically. This is the feeling among the military officers also. The military personnel are also not happy about their deployment for maintaining law and order. The Army is meant for safeguarding our border, for resisting external aggression. They are not trained in this sort of thing, i.e. to maintain law and order within the country, to maintain internal security. They are not trained in that.

As a result, what is happening? Excesses occur. If you speak privately to the military officers, they admit; 'Yes; excesses occur'. This is a because of the lack of training of the Army in maintaining law and order. This is a very bad situation where, if there are excesses during military operations, it leads to the alienation of the people. It alienates the people from the Army. On the other hand, the Army must have the full co-operation of the people. Only then the Army can operate properly and effectively.

As I said, it has been admitted that some sort of excesses take place. The report to which I made a reference contains the details of incidents where the armymen have committed heinous offences. Of course, one does not find it palatable to speak against the Army. We do not feel happy when we speak about it. But this report has not been prepared by the people from the regions, but by people, by responsible people, from outside the region. I think it does not speak well of our Army which has earned a name for itself in the international field also. When we hear of armymen committing rape, when we hear of armymen committing atrocities on innocent people, we do not feel good about it. *(Interruptions)*

Madam, I have already said that we have got to find some solution to this problem. The problem being a political one, a political solution must be there. It must be a political solution. I would, therefore, request the hon. Home Minister to find some way out of it. Let there be a condition created which is conducive for the holding of talks. Now, the Government and the insurgents have taken extremely opposite positions.

The Government is saying that there must be an end to the aggression which the insurgents are carrying out against the State. They call it and agression. And the insurgents say that so long as the atrocities against the people are there and so long as the draconian laws like the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act are there, they are not going to sit down for talks. They are two extremes. Madam, my submission will be that we, the

Members of Parliament, must come forward and find some solutions. My request to this House will be, let Members of this House belonging to all political parties go to Assam and other States and make a study of the situation on the spot. We should do that. I think, if there is sincerity on our part, if we really want a solution of this problem, we can find it. We can call our boys, tell them to come and say what they want. We should be bold enough. This colonial approach won't do. If we think that these people are very small in number and we can suppress them by employing security foces, then, Madam, I have got nothing to say. I would simply say that this will only be a futile effort. Nowhere in the world are such popular movements suppressed by the employment of security forces. So my earnest and sincere request to the Home Minister is that he should create certain conditions. For instance, this Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act may be suspended, temporarily, in order to give a chance to the boys to come forward so that there is an end to the atrocities on the people as alleged by the insurgents. Let there be a peaceful atmosphere, even temporarily, and let us try to see that the Government and the insurgents sit together. Unless this is done, I do not see any other way out. And the next step wills be to have programmes for economic development—concrete, time-bound programmes. You have to make concrete, time-bound programmes, the results of which should be apparent in a very short time.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): Will you please conclude now, Mr. Majumdar?

SHRI TARA CHARAN MAJUMDAR: I am concluding, Madam.

My earnest request to the Home Minister, who is a trusted patriot, is to find some means so that these insurgents can be brought to the negotiating table. Create the conditions. As I have already submitted, even temporarily withdraw this Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act. Tell the boys, "All right, we have suspended it, there will be no atrocities, you come out, let us sit round a table and you say whatever you have got to say." And there should not be any conditions.

Another thing regarding this Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act is, I would like to draw the attention of the hon. Home Minister to the fact that this Act is a draconian Act; it is a draconian law. It does not prescribe any procedure to safeguard the interests of the innocent people, the people who are arrested. The general law prescribes certain safeguards and procedures, but this law doesn't have any procedure. The courts are also not doing justice, because cases challenging the validity of this Act are lying in the Supreme Court for the last 14 years. So, the Supreme Court should decide them this way or that way. That should be done.

Madam, my earnest request, again, to the Home Minister is that he should find some way. Otherwise, the future of our boys, not only of the boys but of the entire region, is very bleak. There is no development work there for decades. There is one securityman for every ten citizens in that region. Just imagine the cost which the States are being subjected to bear. I think the entire cost of maintaining these huge security forces should be borne by the Central Government. These are falling on the shoulders of the State Governments whose pecuniary conditions are very bad. They are in a very bad shape. In order to avoid these things, it is very necessary that something has got to be done immediately.

With this, I conclude.

Thank you, Madam.

श्री अनन्तराय देवशंकर दवे (गुजरात): महोदया, आज हमारी पार्टी के सदस्य श्री नरेन्द्र मोहन जी ने कालिंग अटैन्शन्स के माध्यम से सारे देश और इस

सरकार का ध्यान इस राष्ट्रीय समस्या की ओर खींचने का काम किया है। इसके लिए मैं उनको बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद देता हूं।

महोदया, यह समस्या कोई एक रीजन की समस्या नहीं है, यह राष्ट्रीय समस्या बन गई है जो कि कई सालों से चली आ रही है। इस हाउस और दूसरे हाउस में कई बार किडनेपिंग, किलिंग, हाउस बर्निंग और निर्दोष लोगों का मारा जाना आदि कई सवाल और मसले उठते रहे हैं। सरकार की ओर से हर वक्त ऐसे जवाब दिये जाते हैं कि हम वाच कर रहे हैं, हम देख रहे हैं, समस्या को सुलझाने के लिए मेहनत कर रहे हैं, कई बार ये बातें कही गई। लेकिन इन समस्याओं का अंत आज तक दिखाई नहीं दिया है। समस्या वहीं की वहीं है और दिन-प्रतिदिन बढ़ती जा रही है और सरकार ने इसको कन्फेस किया है। मेरे पास ऐसे कई सवाल हैं जो दोनों हाउसों में पूछे गये हैं। इनसे पता चलता है कि इनमें किलिंग्स और बर्निंग्स के आंकड़ों में निरन्तर बढ़ोत्तरी होती जा रही है। मैं जानना चाहता हूं कि इनमें निरंतर बढ़ोत्तरी किस वजह से हो रही है? क्या सभी सरकार ने इसके बारे में सोचा है और सरकार इसका कोई हल निकालने के लिए उत्सुक है? आज सारे देश के लोग यह जानना चाहते हैं कि नार्थ-ईस्टर्न फ्रन्ट पर क्या हो रहा है। देश के लोगों को आप जानकारी दीजिये कि वहां क्या हो रहा है। मैं जानता हूं कि यह समस्या ऐथनिक है, लिंग्विस्टिक है, हिस्टोरिकल है, ज्योग्राफीकल है और इकनोमिकल है। उनके पीछे बहुत से फैक्टर्स लगे हुए हैं। जब तक हम इन फैक्टर्स का कोई रास्ता नहीं ढूंढेंगे और उसके पीछे बंदूकधारी, लस्कर, आर्मी, बीएसएफ और सीआरपीएफ लगाते रहेंगे तो इस समस्या का हल निकलन वाला नहीं है।

महोदया, आज हम सब जिम्मेदार लोग यहां पर बैठे हुए हैं। हमको पार्टी से ऊपर उठकर इस समस्या का हल निकालना चाहिये क्योंकि यह एक बड़ा सवाल है। ये प्रदेश चारों ओर बार्डर से घिरे हुए हैं। कहीं चाईना बार्डर है, कहीं वर्मा और कहीं बंगलादेश बार्डर है। मैं यहां किसी पार्टिकुलर स्टेट का नाम लेकर बात नहीं कर रहा हूं, त्रिपुरा, मेघालय, नागालैंड और मणिपुर, सभी जगह छोटे-बड़े ग्रुप्स हैं जो इन्सर्जेन्ट के रेबल के ग्रुप्स हैं। दिन प्रतिदिन ये ग्रुप्स बढ़ते जा रहे हैं। इन ग्रुप्स में भी दो भाग हैं। ये आपस में भी लड़ते हैं और निर्दोष लोगों को भी मारते हैं और व्यापारियों को लूटते हैं। जहां निर्दोष लोग जंगल में रहते थे जहां पर हमारे जवानों पर इन्होंने हमला कर दिया। अभी दो दिन पहले सीआरपीएफ के 19 लोगों को मार दिया गया। बार-बार सरकार से यह सवाल पूछा जा रहा है कि ये सब क्यों हो रहा है। आज श्री नरेन्द्र मोहन जी ने यह बात सही कही है कि इनके पीछे कौन लोग हैं जो इस समस्या को भड़का रहे हैं। बंगला देश में एक ट्रेनिंग सैन्टर है, इसके पीछे आई.एस.आई. का हाथ है। हम आपसे पूछ रहे हैं और राष्ट्र के लोग भी यह जानना चाहते हैं कि इसके पीछे कौन लोग हैं और किस वजह से यह सब हो रहा है। क्या आपके पास इस देश की जनता के प्रश्न को हल करने के लिए कोई रास्ता है? मैं होम मिनिस्ट्री की स्टैंडिंग कमेटी का भी सदस्य हूं। यह कमेटी भी वहां पर गई थी। यह इंसर्जेंसी के सवाल पर ही, स्पेशली ऑन् इंसर्जेंसी के सवाल पर, मंत्री महोदय, आप बड़े पुराने अनुभवी हैं, आपके पास जो अनुभव और सूझ है, आप उस से काम लें तो यह समस्या हल हो सकती है। कई रास्ते हमने बताए हैं। कमेटी के सदस्य सारे प्रदेश में जाकर बिजनैसमैन को मिले, स्टूडेंट्स को मिले, जो सरकारी प्रतिनिधि थे उनको भी मिले, कई लोग जो व्यापारी थे उनको भी मिले। सब को मिल कर उनसे कहा कि क्या समस्या है, ये ग्रुप क्यों लड़ रहे हैं, इनके पास पैसा कहां से आता है, इनके पास यह आर्म्स एंड एम्युनीशन कहां से आता है। तो डर के मारे जो उन्होंने जवाब दिया, उस जवाब से यह लगता है कि उनके पीछे कोई और है। ये जो लड़के वहां हैं, जो ग्रुप्स हैं, वे लोग कभी-कभी यहां पा आते होंगे और देखते होंगे कि सारा देश इतनी तरक्की कर रहा है और हमारे प्रदेश में, हमारे क्षेत्र में जहां नेचुरल रिसोर्सेज़ बहुत बड़ी मात्रा में पड़े हैं उनका कोई उपयोग नहीं है। ये जवान वैसे ही फिरते हैं, देखते हैं जब वापस जाते हैं पढ़े-लिखे लोग तो उनको भड़काते हैं। क्योंकि वहां कुछ लोगों का, कुछ ग्रुपों की ऐसी महत्वाकांक्षा है कि हम उस पर कंट्रोल करें। उनको यह आभास नहीं है कि उनके पीछे आई.एस.आई. है, कोई परदेसी लोग है, कोई राष्ट्र विरोधी तत्व हैं अगर वे उनके पीछे हैं तो वह हमको ढूंढना पड़ेगा। हमारे पास इंटेलीजेंसी मशीनरी बहुत है। उसके होने के बावजूद भी इतने जवान मर जाएं आप फिगर तो देखिए, हर वक्त, हर महीने, फिगर बढ़ती जा रही है। हमारी इंटेलीजेंस मशीनरी क्या कर रही है? क्यों ऐसा हो रहा है? क्या हम उससे बातचीत नहीं कर सकते हैं? स्टैंडिंग कमेटी ने सब बातों पर जाकर यह नतीजा निकाला कि सब से पहले हमें उनको सेफ्टी देनी होगी। मैं आपसे अपेक्षा रखता हूं और सरकार से अपेक्षा रखता हूं कि जहां जो लोग रहते हैं उनकी जिन्दगी के लिए उनकी सेफ्टी के लिए हमको कुछ गारंटी देनी पड़ेगी। अब तो यह शहरों में यह

समस्या आ गई है, वहां से लोग भागते जाते हैं, व्यापारी लोग आदि सब भागते जाते हैं। सब से पहले तो हमको यह करना पड़ेगा। सब लोगों को सेफ्टी के लिए, गारंटी के लिए आप क्या कदम उठाने जा रहे हैं वह मुझे आप बताइये और देश के लोगों को भी यह बताइये हमारी पुलिस का मनोबल टूटा पड़ा है। वे हतोत्साहित हो गए हैं। उनको पता नहीं हम कब मर जायेंगे। उसका मनोबल बढ़ाने के लिए हमारे पास कोई योजना है? यदि है तो हमें उसको बताना चाहिए। उसके पास जो साधन हैं दे आर नाट वैल इक्विप्ड, पूरे साधन देने चाहिएं और जो पुलिस वहां है, लोकल पुलिस भी जो है, उनके रहने के लिए मंत्री महोदय, पूरे आवास भी नहीं हैं। उनकी सुविधा के लिए हमने क्या किया? यदि ऐसे दो-तीन कदम हम उठायेंगे तो वहां की पुलिस का मनोबल भी कुछ ऊंचा होगा और वे सोचेंगे कि सरकार हमारे लिए कुछ करना चाहती है। तीसरी बात सिर्फ बंदूक के सामने बंदूक की लड़ाई अब नहीं चलेगी। मैं इसीलिए कह रहा हूं कि कुछ नेगोशिएशन भी करने पड़ेंगे सिर्फ उन लोगों के साथ जिनको भड़काया गया है। जो अराष्ट्रीय तत्व हैं, जो राष्ट्र विरोधी तत्व हैं उनके साथ नहीं, बल्कि जिनको भड़काया गया है, जिनको कुछ भी पता नहीं है कि हम किसलिए लड़ रहे हैं, हम किसलिए किसको मार रहे हैं, हम किसको उठाए जा रहे हैं उसके पीछे क्या वजह है, हम किसका घर जला देते हैं, किसलिए करते हैं उनको कुछ पता नहीं है, लेकिन उनको कह दिया और उन्होंने कर दिया तो ऐसे जो लोग हैं उन लोगों के साथ हमारी वार्ता होनी चाहिए। वहां के लोगों को विश्वास में लेकर वार्ता शुरू करनी पड़ेगी और सारी समस्या के विस्तार में जाना पड़ेगा। वहां ट्रांसपोर्ट इन्फ्रास्ट्रक्चर तो है ही नहीं। कमेटी को भी बताया गया था कि जो 40, 44 नंबर का हाईवे है, 33, 35 नंबर का हाईवे है, उन की हालत देखिए। इतनी खराब हालत है कि लोगों का उस पर से मुसाफिरी करना, वहां से जाना मुश्किल है। इस तरह वहां के लिए इंफ्रास्ट्रक्चर की कोई सुविधा नहीं है।

मैडम, वहां की एक बड़ी समस्या कम्युनिकेशन है। वहां का कम्युनिकेशन नेटवर्क इतना खराब है कि वहां के लोग फील करते हैं कि यह सुविधा उन्हें क्यों नहीं दी जा रही है। फिर वहां लार्ज-स्केल और स्मॉल-स्केल इंडस्ट्रीज कुछ है ही नहीं और लोग फील करते हैं कि वह इस क्षेत्र के लिए कुछ नहीं देते। तो हम को यह सब सोचना पड़ेगा कि उस एरिया में जहां कि इंडस्ट्रियल रिसोर्सेस बहुत पड़े हैं, जैसे माइनिंग इंडस्ट्रीज के लिए वहां हमारे पास बहुत सुविधा है, लेकिन वह शुरू नहीं की जा रही है। मैडम, अभी नरेन्द्र मोहन जी कह रहे थे कि सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट ने उन को पैसा दिया है एक-एक बस्ती को उस की आबादी के मुताबिक 25 लाख रुपया प्राप्त हो सके, वहां के लिए इतना पैसा दिया है, लेकिन वह कहां गया, यह आज तक किसी ने नहीं सोचा तो मैं आप से अनुरोध करता हूं, आप से विनती करता हूं कि जो पैसा यहां से जाए उन के लिए, उस की कुछ-न-कुछ मॉनीटरिंग रखी जानी चाहिए।

मैडम, वहां के लोगों के दिलों में एक भड़कन है कि सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट के रिक्रूटमेंट बोर्ड्स में, जैसे कि रेलवे है, सिविल एविएशन है और पोस्ट ऑफिस है—इन्हें वहां विस्तार में जाना चाहिए ताकि वहां के जवानों को सर्विस में मौका मिल सके। उन जवानों में वहां से निकलने की एक भड़कन है। अभी नरेन्द्र मोहन जी कह रहे थे कि यहां से आप जितना पैसा देते हैं, वह पूरा खर्च होता ही नहीं है।

मैडम, एक खास बात कहना चाहता हूं कि वहां के जवानों को भड़काने के लिए जो ट्रेनिंग सेंटर्स चल रहे हैं, उन में से कई नाम आप ने भी दिए हैं अपने जवाब में, बहुत से ग्रुप्स वहां काम करते हैं जिनका सब का मैं उल्लेख नहीं करना चाहता। लेकिन बांग्लादेश में, थाईलैंड में, सिंगापुर में और बर्मा में ये ट्रेनिंग सेंटर्स चलते हैं। क्या सरकार को इस की जानकारी है? अगर है तो हम ने क्या कदम उठाए हैं, इस बारे में सदन को बताना चाहिए। मैडम, अगर हम उन ट्रेनिंग सेंटर्स को खत्म नहीं करेंगे तो यह समस्या चलती रहेगी और कितने दिन यह चलती रहेगी? मैं जानना चाहूंगा कि क्या सरकार के पास इस के लिए कोई योजना है या नहीं?

मैडम, वहां के छोटे-छोटे राज्य जैसे त्रिपुरा, नागालैंड ने अपने कई प्रपोजल्स भेजे हैं। मैं मंत्री महोदय से निवेदन करूंगा कि अगर आप को समय मिले तो आप के अलग-अलग डिपार्टमेंट्स में जो उन क्षेत्रों के कई प्रपोजल्स पेंडिंग हैं, उन के बारे में आप पता कीजिए। आप के पास बहुत से साधन हैं। इस विस्तार के छोटे-छोटे राज्यों के कितने ही डवलपमेंट के प्रपोजल्स यहां डिफरेंट डिपार्टमेंट्स में पेंडिंग हैं जोकि यहां से क्लिअर नहीं हो रहे हैं। इस की क्या वजह है? यह क्यों क्लिअर नहीं हो रहे हैं? अगर यह प्रोजेक्ट्स वहां नहीं जाएंगे तो विकास का काम ही नहीं होगा और काम नहीं होंगे तो जवान बेकार रहेगा। जो जवान वहां अनएम्प्लायड पड़ा है, उस को काम में लगाने के लिए, अच्छी तरह से राष्ट्रीय प्रवाह में लाने के लिए जितनी योजनाएं पड़ी हैं, उन सब को जल्दी-से-जल्दी आप क्लिअर करवाइए।

मैडम, वहां के बिजनेस मेन और ट्रेडर्स की सेक्युरिटी के लिए भी हम को कुछ व्यवस्था करनी चाहिए। फिर वहां के सभी डिस्ट्रिक्ट्स में फंड्स का प्रॉपर डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन नहीं हो रहा है और इन्हीं सब कारणों से यह समस्या खड़ी होती है कि किसी डिस्ट्रिक्ट्स में ज्यादा पैसा दे दिया और किसी ने कम दे दिया। इन्हीं कारणों से वहां के जवानों को बाहर के लोग आकर उस विस्तार में भड़काते हैं और समस्या खड़ी करते हैं। इसको बंद करने के लिए यहां से मोनेटरिंग होनी चाहिए। मंत्री महोदय, जो काफी कुछ मैंने यह 10-15 बातें कही हैं, इन पर ध्यान देने की जरूरत है।

महोदया, अब यह राष्ट्रीय समस्या बन गई है। इस राष्ट्रीय समस्या का समाधान हम सब लोगों को साथ मे मिलकर करना होगा। अगर यह नहीं हुआ तो यह समस्या दिन प्रति दिन बिगड़ती जाएगी और एक दिन ऐसा आएगा कि यह हमारे कंट्रोल के बाहर चली जाएगी। यहां के लोग गरीब हैं, ट्राइबल लोग हैं। यहां मिसनरी काम कर रही है, कोई कान्वेण्ट स्कूल, जैसा अभी माननीय सदस्य कह रहे थे, चल, रहा है, बहुत कुछ चल रहा है। उनकी कोई धार्मिक, वंश परंपरागत, ऐतिहासिक, इकोनोमिक बहुत सी समस्याएं हैं, लेकिन हमने कुछ किया नहीं है और चूंकि कुछ किया नहीं है, इसीलिए गवर्नमेंट ने यह दिन प्रति दिन विस्तार में ऐसी परिस्थिति खड़ी कर दी है, जो अब हल नहीं हो रही है। आपने अपने जवाब में तो आंकड़े दे दिए कि हमने इतने इतने कदम उठाए हैं, लेकिन वहां जो चल रहा है वह तो चल ही रहा है। तो हम सब लोगों की, सभी पार्टी की यह जिम्मेदारी आज बन गई है कि इस राष्ट्रीय समस्या का मुकाबला करने के लिए, उसका समाधान करने के लिए हम सब आगे बढ़कर इन गरीब लोगों को, जो जवान भड़क गए हैं, जो जवान राष्ट्रीय प्रवाह से दूर हो गए हैं उनको साथ लाने के लिए कुछ न कुछ करें। इसके साथ ही जो मैंने सुझाव दिए हैं, उस पर सरकार गंभीरता से सोचे। धन्यवाद।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (कुमारी सरोज खापर्डे): बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद, दवे जी। श्री जॉन एफ० फर्नांडिस।

SHRI JOHN F. FERNANDIS (Goa): Thank you, Madam Vice-Chairperson. At the outset of this debate, the Deputy Chairman has rightly mentioned that the speakers should be from the North-Eastern region. When the problem of insurgency is going on there, I do not know whether there will be a free voice in this House from the hon. Members of Parliament from that area to express themselves freely. Will any protection be given to them? That is the moot point.

The hon. Minister has made his statement. It appears like a post-mortem report because it only mentions of deaths — so many hundreds, so many dozens, of death from the security side, the insurgents side or the civilian side. This statement confirms that the seven States — we call them the Seven Sisters of the North-East — are really going through a tough time. Madam, there are reasons. As we know, geographically, these are land-locked pockets, hilly terrains, bordering with Bangladesh, China and Myanmar, Burma formerly. We have inimical countries surrounding these areas. And, to some extent, I think the Government of India has also woken up very late. I remember an incident. In the early '70s when the late Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, visited one of these States, there was a public reception. One of the gentlemen from that area, a Minister, a party official of that area, welcomed the Prime Minister of India saying, "We ae glad to have a friend from India among us". That made Mrs. Gandhi cry. And that was the turning point. Since then, I think the government of India has taken interest to see that the North-Eastern region is brought in the national mainstream. We have seen how we have handled many issues in the North-East. And credit goes also to the late Prime Minister Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. We have seen accords after accords. On the problems which the people had, we had a dialogue with them, the Government of India had a dialogue with them. We had the Naga Accord; we had the Mizo Accord; and we had the Assam Accord. On enquiries made with my hon. colleagues from the North-East, I am told that most of these accords were fully implemented; for example, the Mizo Accord was implemented almost a hundred per cent; the Naga Accord was implemented 75 per

cent; and the Assam Accord was implemented 75 per cent. What I am trying to say is that unless we talk to the people and bring them to the table and know their problems, find out their grievances and try to give remedies to the problems, give solutions to the problems, I do not think we can solve these problems with just the barrel of the gun. India is the largest working democracy. I do not see any justification in saying that there is unemployment and there should be insurgency.

3.00 P.M.

I don't subscribe to that school of thought, but the question is whether we are going to see or treat this problem as a human problem. Madam, basically, these are the backward areas, these are the hilly areas, these are the tribal areas and in some States, I am told, e.g. Mizoram, that the literacy rate is as high as in Kerala, almost a hundred per cent. When you educate the people, when you produce white collar graduates, we have to give them employment. they are not prepared to go and work among the peasants. So, I think, here we have failed because we have not provided them with proper job opportunities. To give an example as to how the neighbouring countries interfere in these areas, I remember an incident. In 1982, when we had the ASIAD, a particular dance of Arunachal Pradesh was staged, the Peacock dance, and there was a resentment in Peking. Recently, one of the hon. Members raised an issue here that one of the Chief Ministers of those States applied for a visa to go to China for a workshop, and he was denied a visa saying, "You don't need a visa." Because that particular State is part of China, you are welcome to enter. If this aberration exists, if this diplomatic friction exists, I don't think we can blame the people alone there. We have to blame the Foreign Affairs Ministry also. Madam, it is high time that we sorted out the issues through diplomatic channels. It is not enough that you keep on fighting against these irritants, you keep on fighting with your neighbouring State. We have improved our relations with China recently by keeping aside those irritants.

Madam, I took interest to speak on this subject because, as a Member, I happened to visit those States as an observer of my party and I know the problems. I happened to visit Nagaland twice. In the last Lok Sabha elections also, I was in Nagaland; I was in Dimapur, and I know, it was declared as a disturbed area and I also know the problems faced by the people because there was a curfew imposed there; by 6 o'clock, by dawn, you had to be inside. Madam, the problem is that we give an impression that we don't take these people as our people and we don't take them into confidence to fight the so-called insurgency, and that is the problem we have created in Jammu and Kashmir. From the rank of Under Secretary and above....**(interruptions)**...Madam, I hope, they won't censor my speech. Madam, I was talking of Jammu and Kashmir. Unless we take these people as our own, unless we don't give them a reason as to why they are doubted as citizens of this country, I don't think we can solve this problem. These are the very reasons that we push these people with the insurgents, with the terrorists.

Madam, the hon. Minister has also mentioned in his Statement on the last page that they are going to raise 12 India Reserve battalions. I think it will be appropriate if you have recruitment from the local areas because the main problem, as most of the hon. colleagues from the North-East mentioned, is the problem of unemployment, and every insurgent group gets money from these neighbouring countries, inimical countries, and they run their outfits as factories because they generate employment. So, I hope, the hon. Minister will see that more weightage is given to the people of these areas to join the defence forces or the para military

forces, and that they are being absorbed in so that they can have a feeling that they are one amongst us. There, the main problem is bordering with Burma, and the profession of the people or of the young people there is smuggling. Essential commodities are being smuggled from the Indian mainland to the Golden Triangle there, and, in return, you get the drugs. We have to see as to how the problem there can be sorted out. If we do not go to the basic cause of the problem; and if we just keep on harping upon insurgency, I don't think the problem will be sorted out. I have mentioned about the involvement of the local people. The people in those areas are very patriotic. We have two freedom-fighters, Shri Parag Chaliha and Shri Majumdar, who have spoken. They are veteran freedom-fighters. I go back to an incident when the INA entered into this country from Burma in 1945. It was led by our great leader Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. They defeated the Britishers in Kohima. That could be only possible because they got help from the local people. So these people are very much nationalists. They helped the Indian liberation movement, India's war of Independence. I don't think we should doubt them and put some alien faces there. The features of these people are totally different from the features of the people from the mainland. Unless you take the local people into confidence, unless you involve the people at the grass-root level, I don't think any scheme you plan there will sort out the problem. The former Prime Minister said that he was going to give Rs. 6,100 crores to that area. It is not enough to give money. If you give them money, you will get a utility certificate because most of the money will be pilfered by the terrorist groups, the so-called insurgent groups. Whenever there is terrorism, you get a hundred per cent utility certificate. It happened in Jammu and Kashmir. When we had a popular Government there, funds could not be utilised. We could only utilise 75 per cent of the funds. The terrain is difficult. Whatever money comes there, it cannot be utilised. When the Assembly was dissolved and when terrorists took over, every time Delhi got a hundred per cent utility certificate. What I am trying to say is that the money was not invested, the money was not put in the infrastructure. The money went for the purpose of terrorism; the money went for the purpose of insurgency. So it is not enough to pump in money. At the moment, the Home Ministry, the Government of India is ruling the State by appointing a Joint Secretary in the Home Ministry. They feel that this is the solution to the problem. they should involve the people. When I say people, it also means representatives of the people. It is not enough to put two IAS officers there. The Home Ministry is trying to solve the problem in this way. I don't think that is possible. I think the only way to solve the problem is that you involve the local people, prominent citizens and the elected representatives. There are Assemblies there. There are members of Parliament. We have prominent citizens. You must instil confidence in the defence forces, the paramilitary forces and civil authorities. I propose that a Committee of Members of Parliament should be constituted. We have Members of Parliament from the North Eastern region. There are Members of Parliament from other States also. Madam, you can see that everyone, cutting across party lines, has been participating in the debate on the Calling Attention Motion because we are more concerned about it. Whatever is happening in the North-East, it should be solved. If we can stop insurgency, it will be in the national interest because national resources are drained there. We are giving crores of rupees in the name of maintaining law and order, in the name of safeguarding our international boundaries. So I would suggest to the Home Minister that he should constitute a Committee of members of Parliament to find a solution to the problem.

By merely treating that problem as a problem of the tribals and giving an impression that it is nothing but an ethnic cleansing, I don't think we are going to solve this problem. So my humble suggestion to the Home Minister is that a Committee should be constituted and the report of that Committee should be reviewed from time to time. Thank you.

SHRI TRILOKI NATH CHATURVEDI (Uttar Pradesh): Madam, I must commend Shri Narendra Mohan for calling the attention of the Government and this House to a very important problem with which we have been living for the last 50 years. I must also express my praise for the Home Minister for his factual but a frank account of what has happened in the recent past. It appears as a recital of a ghastly incident. Unfortunately, that is so. But we have to move from there and see as to how the situation can be improved. I do not want to go into details. But I would like to bring a few things to the notice of this House and the hon. Home Minister. The word neglect has been used repeatedly. I think, there is historical neglect, a reference to which was made by Shri Parag Chaliha. There is physical neglect, that is, infrastructure, rail-road linkage within that area and connecting the area with the rest of the country. We know about the connecting chicken neck and so on and we need not go into it. Somehow, there is a sense of neglect. The third is the sense of psychological neglect. Somehow, the people of this region feel that their identity has been either ignored or their identity has not been recognised. Madam, I had been the Commissioner of Chandigarh, and the former Chief Minister of the then undivided Assam was the Governor. He was earlier a senior leader of the then ruling party before, of course he became the Governor. He was a member of the Congress Working Committee. He would, sometimes call me just for a chat, if you want to call it that way. I talked to him about flash floods which had come in Assam. He said, "Chaturvedi, the trouble is the people sitting in Delhi do not know whether the Brahamaputra flows from North to South or from South to North." He said this with pain and anguish. Then he talked to me about the Brahamaputra Flood Control Board and the North-East Council which had also come into existence by then. Unfortuntely, these institutions exist only on paper. They have done some work. But, unfortunately, they have not been effective enough. They have not been purposeful enough, either in achieving results or even in winning the confidence of the people. That is why this psychological neglect is there. Shri Parag Chaliha and many others have talked about it. When I visited that place at one time, one of the leaders of what was then a student's movement and who is in power today told me, "You pick up any history book. What is the kind of reference you find in the history books about Assam? Except for Raja Man Singh or some Mughal emperor or somebody else going there, there is no other reference. What about Assam's local history"? As a matter of fact, I took some personal interest in reading about the local history. One of the books was written by a former Member of the other House. The book was "Blue Hills" or something like that.

DR. B.B. DUTTA (Nominated): The book is "Red River, Blue Hills."

SHRI TRILOKI NATH CHATURVEDI: Yes. I read this book and another history book subsequently. That book was by 'Gaites' or something. Even here we find we have a ritual—pardon me for saying so—for paying homage on birthdays. Is there any single photo of any leader from Assam? Leave aside this question. They also have a grievance because Assam was divided. Today we call them seven sisters because we want friendly relations to develop in that region. But there are pending regional problems.

If one goes a little more into details one finds different problems. In the problems of each of these States, there is a lot of commonality and there are a lot of differences. Nobody knows it better than the hon. Home Minister himself. He is very right in saying that Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya and Mizoram are, by and large, peaceful. But in this entire area the words 'by and large' themselves speak out as to what is in his mind. There may be stillness, the silence below. Normally the distance lends enchantment to the view. But in this case I find, so far as the people of this region area concerned, the distance lends only disillusionment. It is disenchantment and not enchantment. Similarly, it breeds a lot of ignorance so far as the people on this side our country are concerned. I remember even L.P. Singh asking the different Ministries when he was the Governnor, "Why don't you visit these States?" And the people would not. I am saying this because the point has been made well about isolation and the question of officers. Yes, a sense of security has to be provided to the people in general, not only just for the officers but to the people in general. The officers have their own difficulties in this. But really the difficulty there is in postings and transfers and the hon. Home Minister, I have no doubt, is much better equipped to do this, as many others did. You have to be fair and you have to be firm. Some people get out of the posting in this region and those who go there stay for years. While there is actually a limitation on the number of years of posting, etc. the Government of India has also given a lot of facilities, both in emoluments, housing, etc. to the officers who are posted. But, unfortunately, I do not want to go into details but this is important—that is why the posts remain vacant. There have been times when the North-Eastern Council would not even have a Secretary, an officer of the rank of a Secretary to the Government of India. The Brahmaputra Flood Control Board will be without members and without a Chairman for years. There have been reports of the PAC. But, unfortunately, nothing happened. That is why Mr. Fernandes and Mr. Mazumdar were absolutely right when they said that there should be for this region a time-bound programme. These things are to be done. They must fructify in the field and not just only pay pious homage which we from time to time pay. Madam Vice-Chairman, I would also like to say that there is a need to revitalise the local administration itself. That is important. That is why the police, training schools, colleges, the administration training institutes etc. are there. But all these institutions, somehow or the other, are just existing and not flourishing in that part of the country. The effort should be that in the real sense they should impart vitality. Their problem should be looked into. Their problem should be looked into by the local administration because it is not by posting some officers here and there that we solve this problem. Ultimately, it is the local administration, which is constitutionally responsible and when we are talking about grass root administration, we can call it grass root administration because ultimately it is the sensitivity to the local problem, anticipating the local problems, having a sense of participation. That will only create a sense of parternership in the people and the people will feel, yes, India as a whole cares for them. When you call them a part of India, they are part of India and they should feel that other parts of India care for them. They are part of that Mother India. Shri Chaliha spoke about a great poet. I refer to not only a poet but a great religious leader Shanker Dev who like Shankaracharya, moved throughout the country. His hymns were about peace, harmony and friendship and equality of all faiths etc. and they are relevant even today. Their translations are available.

It is necessary to know more about the region. I think another thing which I would like to draw your attention to is neglect which I mentioned. Apart from

psychology, there is physical or economic neglect.

Now I will try to draw the attention of the Home Minister—I don't want to go into the details because there are many reports—to a recent report of the Standing Committee. This report did deal with the problems in a fairly realistic manner, in a fairely comprehensive manner. I think this report needs a close examination. The second important issue is economic development. That was referred to by Mr. L.C. Jain, who was a Member of the Planning Commission His report is known as the Jain report. That was also a fairly comprehensive report on the economic problems of the North-East. This report deals with various economic problems in a realistic manner. I think this report should also be examined in a great detail. I think the Home Minister will be able to solve many of the problems if he goes through these reports. It is a different matter if he does not want to accept some of the recommendations contained in those reports. If I quote his own phraseology, 'by and large' if you accept these reports, if you implement these reports and translate the recommendations into action, you will find that a sense of confidence can be created. We can create a sense of credibility in the measures that the Government wants to take. This credibility in the steps that the Government wants to take will give very good results.

A reference has been made to the increasing ISI activities in the region. I don't want to go into the details because the hon. Home Minister himself has talked about the ISI activities. He has talked about the training camp. He has also mentioned the names of some countries like Thailand, Bhutan, Bangladesh, etc. He has mentioned that whenever the Bangladesh Government steps up pressure, these people are moving to Bhutan. That aspect also needs our attention. It is a problem by itself and I don't know some of its complications at the moment. I am only underscoring its importance and trying to draw the attention of the Home Minister to these problems which the Home Minister himself is fully aware of. There is the danger of the ISI activities and there is smuggling also. The Golden Triangle was referred to by Mr. Fernandes. There are a lot of inexplicable elements also in this. In Manipur, you have the problem of AIDS among the young and student population. I had a talk with the Vice-Chancellor and I don't want to go into the details. you have reports of the WHO and of the Government. As you know, those who take drugs can commit any crime. Sometimes they can be made to commit crimes. This is happening in the affluent countries. That is why when the people develop a genuine, real sense of neglect, which is compounded by this kind of a situation, it gets much more complicated and I think these should be attended to immediately. There are some foreign elements who create mischief or who try to create some mischief in the area and I think, the Government is fully aware of this. I think they should not be treated with velvet gloves. This kind of things have happened in the past also. When Rev. Michael was not correct, in his conduct, he was asked to leave. These things did happen in the past. We have to take care of all these things. many a time, warnings and cautions were issued by the Government officials, high-placed, responsible Government officials. A former Director-General, Mr. Prakash Singh, gave two or three very detailed interviews on this. He said that the situation might again go out of our hands and it may become worse than Jammu and Kashmir. Unfortunately, the follow-up action was tardy and there are a number of reasons for this.

Mr. Narendra Mohan has made a very valid point and I don't want to go into the details which were published in the newspapers because I might be accused of eulogizing a particular paper. With due humility, I would like to say one thing.

Because I spend money on six English papers and one Hindi paper, sometimes I do make some references to the newspaper reports. But I would not name the paper or the date. In this morning paper, there is a news report and I think this report may be of some interest to the Home Minister. But I will not say either the name of the newspaper or the State. Since this is today's paper, I think it is available and is at the disposal of the Minister. The report says, "Centre wants to sack..." I want to leave it blank. The report further says that the State Government was castigated for not fighting the militants and for colluding with underground elements." I am aware of some of the correspondents who do get fairly factual information. The news report says that this information was according to sources close to the Home Minister. But I would not believe that they are close to the Home Minister because he, in his own sagacity, always keeps his characteristic aloofness from all the kinds of manoeuvrings and he does attend to the problems properly. I don't mention more in order to avoid any controversy. Now, a reference was made to the ethnic conflict.

He has himself made a factual and frank statement. This House was also greatly disturbed in the recent past about it because there were ethnic conflicts and there were some conflicts on the borders. We had the Ashoka Mehta Committee's report. Before that the second Election Commissioner had also prepared a report about border conflicts in some of these States. From time to time a lot of problems have been created. I think the hon. Home Minister with his detatchment and with his understanding can certainly make a beginning so that these things are attended to and through mutual goodwill a beginning is made and these problems are tackled.

Madam Vice-Chairman, I will make just one comment and that is about the spending of funds. This Government particularly talks about cooperative federalism. I also believe in federalism or the union of States as envisaged in the Constitution. I am fully sold on this particular idea. We have also to see how the Government funds are spent. We had an LOC scam, that is, the letter of Credit scam, not the LOC in J&K. Something had happened. It seems that the investigative machinery was halted halfway. Why should it not be taken to its logical conclusion?

The other thing that I want to say is that they take the names of some particular States in the newspapers and just make a pun on them and say it is 'money' pur, etc. etc. That shows the kind of situation there.

Well, Mr. Fernandes said something about it. There are a number of reports. It is there in the reports of the CAG, the reports of the PAC and others. That is why it is necessary that we do pay proper attention so that these funds are spent for those purposes for which they are meant. And that is why it is necessary and there should be some kind of a Monitoring Committee. I have some modification to suggest so far as this committee of Members of Parliament is concerned. I will suggest that the Home Minister should have a committee of the Members of Parliament who belong to this region, if he has periodical meetings with them he will know what the problems are, what genuine difficulties are, why the funds are not being spent and what can be done. Many of the issues are inter-State matters in this region. That is why the North-Eastern Council has to be activated. Only with such a coordinated mechanism—without creating a new mechanism—you can ensure that the schemes are implemented and one can know what the aspirations of the people are, what they think, what their representatives think, what difficulties the administrative apparatus points out and then the Home Minister can certainly work out a happy equilibrium and the things can proceed.

I would also very respectfully say that

we are having cultural contacts through festivals abroad and they are all welcome. I would suggest that there is a need for a much more intensive interaction and continuing cultural contacts between the part of India in which we are living and the North-East which is facing this problem. The Department of Cultural under the Ministry of Human Resource Development can have such exchanges, bring students here and take them round the country. They can be assisted by the Ministry of Home Affairs. There are very bright students in that region. In an interview I asked those people as to where from they received their education. They told me that they have shifted from there because universities and colleges had been closed there. They studied in Patna, in Delhi and so and so forth. So, we should have some understanding about those people. I think we can build the bridges, and the misunderstanding of the past, miasma of distrust and mistrust can certainly be dispelled.

Madam, we know that news reports are being quoted and objected to. I myself know that there have been occasions when they were with the so-called insurgent groups and had negotiations, certainly, not within our borders. Sometimes, we had invited them, we even sent them back safely, and we did not come to any conclusion. These things go on, but these things appear in the Press. The House is kept ignorant, except what appears in newspapers—not in one newspaper, not in the newspaper which was quoted but, it appears, in a number of newspapers. It is necessary for the hon. Home Minister to take into confidence leaders of all the political parties once in three months about problmes of the North-East. Mr. Dave rightly said that it is a national problem, and a national vision, a national approach and a national angle has to be applied to it. We have to treat it as a national problem because there are so many problems of psyche, apart from these difficulties. In think, in this way, you can take them into confidence. That is why it is all the more necessary. I don't want to go into the problem of violation of human rights and the sense of security of paramilitary forces and the problems of security as such. I know, in the recent past, the hon. Home Minister has been trying to reconcile these opposing and conflicting requirements as we are wedded to the Constitution. It becomes all the more necessary that you take the people, the Members of the Parliament of both of Houses of parliament from that region and leaders of various political parties into confidence. If it is done, then the problems of that area can be solved. It requires a healing touch, it requires a fair amount of firmness and the intensity of vision and the depth of understanding to know as to what our goal is. Probably, there are quite a few things in common, but each region has its own specific problems. They should not have a sense of neglect either on account of lack of economic development or economic possibilities. At the same time, their long-standing feeling that their psychology is not being understood, their identity is being ignored and their identity is not being recognised, that kind of a sense of grievance should not be there. How much of it is a fact and how much of it is a feeling, is not the consideration. I have no doubt that the hon. Home Minister will take care of both the fact and the feeling so that we are in a position to meet the situation as it exists today and find a long-term solution to this problem. By doing so, the purpose with which Shri Narendra Mohan moved this Calling Attention Motion would be served effectively. Thank You.

DR. B.B. DUTTA: Madam Deputy Chairperson, I must say that I am very much dispointed by the kind of statement which the hon. Home Minister has placed before the House. I did not expect a statement of the variety of, say, 'Director-General of Police' or 'some bureacrats', etc. Whenever we put this question to them, they come out with a list of incidents, where and how those occured and the measures that have been

taken. We thought that we would understand the mind of the Home Ministry as to how they are going to tackle this problem, which is not merely a law and order problem. But, this is a problem which has got more depth and dimension. It is insurgency and it has become a problem that has become chronic. It is on the increase. it is endangering the unity and integrity of the nation as a whole. Therefore, something else is expected. This statement corroborates the suspicion in the minds of the people of the North-East or those who are living in the periphery that the Centre does not have a perception, a true perception of the problem. There is not much time left. Many of our hon. colleagues in this House have spoken on many points. Therefore, I would like to put only certain questions to the hon. Home Minister, who is a great parliamentarian, who is a man of great stature, so that he comes out with answers. Firstly, I would like to know whether all the incidents have been catalogues in the statement. I also want to know whether the Home Minister is aware that there are a few thousand more incidents which have not been catalogued. They have not been enumerated because the people did not dare to file complaints with the local police stations. The situation is such that they cannot do so. If a complaint is filed with any police station, it is as good as filing a complaint by an insurgent against another insurgent. Is the Home Minister of India aware of this phenomenon? The Home Minister in the opening paragraph of his statement says that Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram and Meghalaya, are by and large peaceful. Is the Home Ministry aware of the incidents that are occurring every week in and around Shillong which is the capital of Meghalaya which was the capital of United Assam in British India, which is considered to be the cultural capital of the entire North-East, which was the headquarters from where the entire North-Eastern, area, including NEFA and Assam, was ruled, which had a wonderful tradition of running the administration, the British administration, though it was an imperialistic administration, but whatever laws they passed, they enforced those laws? They saw to it that the rule of law was there and it was obeyed. I would like to know the number of incidents occurring in and around that area every week. Is that not a perpetual tension area? Have not killings been taken place there at regular intervals? Have not people been kidnapped there? But, the Home Minister has come out with a statement that this area is by and large peaceful. This is where the people of North-East get frustrated. They think as to what type of a nation they belong to. "Am I not an Indian? Cannot the Government of India protect me as a citizen?" Madam, if we trace back our history from the beginning of our civilisation, we will see that there are three main functions of a government. The first function is the function of policing to see that the law and order is maintained and justice is provided; the second functioning is defending them against foreign aggression and the third function, of course, is to perform those functions which any private persons will not do—collective functions. These are the three elementary things. Today, a situation has arisen that the Government, either at the State level or at the Central level, is not able to provide security to the citizen of India for his life and for his property. Since there is no security, the people are continuously migrating from the North-East to elsewhere, from this part to that part or from this region to some to other region. This is going on. Is the hon. Home Minister not aware that there is a tardy migration of capital from the North-East? Private investors, traders, businessmen are not able to get any security for their capital because every week, every month they have to pay a heavy amount of money to the extortionists—you call them extremists or underground insurgents or by whatever name. So, there is no question of more

investment. There is a continuous process of disinvestment going on. Whenever an administration goes anywhere, even in a backward area, even in an area which was otherwise unadministered or firstly administered as in British India, one of the concomitant forces is trade and business. Traders and businessmen go ahead. They make investment. They make themselves indispensable in making available the essential commoditites and other things. They collect information, they create a bonds between peoples and between areas and it is those people from the North-East today who are migrating and you are saying that you are maintaining the unity and integrity of India. What is the response? In the process, there is even a tendency that the officers who are responsible for administering that region tend to migrate. The officer would say, 'I am going to the North-East on a posting and I have a house in Delhi.' He will keep on shuttling and the moment he is posted in the North-East, his next effort is to get a transfer either back to Delhi or to somewhere else. With this half-hearted approach, do you think that the officers are going to provide security to the people? The officers themselves are provided with security in the North-East; a Chief Secretary required more security, a Deputy Commissioner requires more security, an S.P. is surrounded by police for his security. What security are they providing to the citizens? Nothing, I tell you. This is the situation. There is perpetual tension. I put another question to the hon. Home Minister; It is not a question of so many incidents in Assam, so many incidents in Manipur, so many incidents in Nagaland. Why to catalogue like this? One thing is, the insurgents are located, they have spread after having coordination between themselves in a very strategic fashion—Manipur, Nagaland, Mizoram, North Cachar Hills of Assam then via Meghalaya down below. You see the strategic roads. You see how they are spreading their wings. They have increased their strength. So, do not say that the situation has improved. The situation has improved for them. They are well armed, before you establish your unified command. There have been a lot of tracts where we demanded some unified command action. Now, recently, you have done that. Well, before that, they had their own unified command. They have established a coordination between themselves. Your response has been very belated and that too you get only three months. Now, you have, under the circumstances, extended it for some more time and you will, perhaps, go on extending like this and people like Majumdar have been agitated against atrocities by security forces and all that. So, I ask a question: Have these tactices been studied in order to respond to their strategy? Has a strategic position been taken by this unified command? Not fully, I tell you. There are certain strategic spots which were there in British India; the British did not ignore them, but our Government has ignored them. The locations are not very happy. You will find an area about 100 kms. away from Guwahati, where the insurgents are having good strength, having conference after conference. Hundred yards, away, you are having the unified command moving this way and that way. This is the type of situation that is prevailing there.

Has the Home Ministry noticed that the IAS and IPS officers are subjected to extortion or tax; whatever name you give to it? Every month or so they have to pay some amount to the underground. From their pay, they have to give to the underground. Let the nation know what is happening. Those who are part of the administration there, those who are supposed to give protection to the citizens, those who are there to enforce the laws, themselves, partly, surrender to the underground. The situation is so bad. These things are well known. But the Government of India would like to sit idle.

There is another phenomenon,

Madam. The Home Minister is silent. A situation has arisen in some States, in some part of the North-East, that the elected Government cannot function, cannot work, without having a nexus with the underground elements. maybe, when one party comes to power, it aligns with one faction; and when another party comes to power, it aligns with the other faction. But alignment is a must. Now, this is the kind of governance we are having. We have a Constitution. As per the Constitution, periodic elections are held. But the underground elements do no disturb the elections in the North-East, as in Kashmir. In Kashmir, we could not hold the elections for quite a number of years. But in the North-East, elections have been held, more or less, peacefully. This is because what the underground wants is a pliant Government, a subservient Government. They want a subservient Government to carry out their wishes. This phenomenon has been digested by the Government of India also. I am not saying that you solve the problem overnight. If we are aligning with this or that underground faction for a period of time, if we want to follow the strategy 'I am doing it for some time; after that, I know what will happen', it is one thing. But I can assure the House. I have watched this. The point is: there is no strategy on the part of the Home Ministry or anybody. We are without any strategy. It is an ad hoc strategy; from time to time. There is no thinking. There is no research done. There is no continuity of thinking on how to follow the strategy and how to improve the strategy to match these people.

We have got the police forces in every State in the North-East. I had had discussions with almost all the Chief Ministers. I asked: 'Why is it that the citizens are saying that whenever any incident occurs and it is reported to the police station, the police, instead of moving to that place to tackle the situation, move in the opposite direction?' You see the drama. The Chief Minister says: 'What can I do?; my policemen are very ill-equipped; how can they take on these boys who are having AK-47 and other automatic rifles?'. These insurgents are operating with sophisticated weapons. They are smart. They are well-trained. On the other hand, our policemen, with their ramshackle rifles, cannot take them on. They know that if they move to that place, they would be killed. Therefore, they go in the opposite direction. This is the state of affairs in the State police forces in the North-East.

There is another thing here, Madam, which I want to point out. At the lower level, a good part of the State police force has given its loyalty to them. They think that they would be able to protect their interests that way. A good part of the police force has given its loyalty to the underground. That is why you find that when an IPS officer, a well-Intentioned and courageous officer, goes into an operation to catch some extremists, suddenly, he finds that he does not have the back-up behind him. Many times, the information about the operation reaches the extremists well before the operation, through his own network, saying: 'We are coming; you get out of this place'. This is the situation in the North-East.

I would like to point out, Madam, that, today, a situation has arisen where the State Government is not governing, where the level of administration, has sunk very, very low. Can you say that any killer has been caught? Can you say that any killer has been punished, has been given exemplary punishment? No. A lot of killings have taken place. There have been a number of killings and kidnappings. How is the police functioning? There is a well-drafted paragraph given out by the police headquarters at Guwahati; for that matter, by every State police headquarters in the North-East. The moment an incident happens, within five minutes, a press communique comes from the police headquarters saying: 'Combing

operations have started'. The press communique would say: 'The area has been cordoned off and combing operations have started'. But what is the result of the combing operations? People laugh. Many people are compromising with these elements for their own safety, for the safety of their children, and for the safety of their property. Many people feel that it is better to compromise with these elements rather than depend on this kind of non-governing Government, non-administering administration; it is useless. So people do not have any confidence in the Administration, people do not hava any confidence in the Government of the day. This is the situation. Now I ask, how do you tackle this problem? It is a very serious problem.

Madam, Those who are dealing with the situation at the field level, thinking people, say that one-fourth of the problem is genuine. Let us not confuse things. If you trace the history of Naga insurgency, it started well before Independence, right from 1947 when the Nagas indicated that they would not like to remain in India and that as and when the British vacated India, they would also like to be independent. They came to Gandhiji and met him. Phizo said, "I would like to declare independence on the night of 14th August" and Gandhiji told him, "Then why wait for India? You declare it here and now. Why are you waiting for India? What binds you with India?" That question of Gandhiji was typical. It silenced Phizo. But then they started the Naga insurgency. Nagaland was the pace-setter of insurgency in the North-East. This is the pure variety of insurgency. They felt that they should be free and that they were not under India. The British subjugated them. They were also partially administered—they had excluded certain areas. Therefore, they wanted to be independent. Following that, some other autonomy for movements took place. In Mizoram it hapened, in parts of North-East it happened. Later on they came to a compromise. But the pure part of the insurgency only relates to that. The rest is now a business; the rest is now an industry. And that business and industry is with a combination of drug traffickers, frustrated politicians and frustrated youth. They have taken to this and they find that it is very paying. They have become very rich. They are collecting huge amounts of money. They have got beautiful vehicles, they have got sophisticated arms. So, that part is false insurgency and it is because of the declining administration, the declining level of governance. If we are determined that we shall administer, if we are determined that we shall give protection and justice to the people, if we put the right officers in the right places and if we give them adequate support, that three-fourth part of the insurgency will vanish in no time. But his is not being done. And because this is not being done, now the ISI is able to operate— because they have found that it is a haven for operations and they could keep India disturbed not only in the North-West but in the North-East also. They thought it is better to keep India busy both in the North-West and the North-East.

It is a wonderful strategy. Whatever Pakistan may have lost because of the separation of its eastern wing by the coming into being of an independent State, they have now made a strategic gain. They are getting funds from elsewhere in the Middle East and they are pumping them into the North-East and they are helping in the process of setting tribe against tribe, clan against clan, community against community men of each community, boys and girls of each linguistic group and each tribal group are being trained regularly. And because everybody is antagonised because of the oppression that seems to be coming from the others, they say, "Go ahead and take your reprisal measures; you take badla." This is how it is happening, this is how this kind of a situation is being created.

When there are not many killings, you think it is peaceful. It is not so. The entire North-East is under continuous oppression. People do not go out after

dusk. When people want to go from one place to another, they think thrice about how to go and which taxi to take. Good taxi drivers do not operate during certain hours after dusk. Only the bad ones operate. This is the situation because many new taxis have been hijacked and the drivers have been killed. All these things are happening, I tell you.

In this situation, the question is this. Let us decide. if this territory is with us, then let us govern it, let us administer it.

You say that it is an integral part of India. Fine. Then, the citizens want to be protected. The right to life and property is the immediate need. I am not talking of development.

Some hon. Members have said that the insurgency is because of the backwardness and that it is because of the unemployment. Madam, I beg to differ. There is a terrible unemployment and backwardness in parts of Bihar and West Bengal and elsewhere. There are a lot of unemployed people in every house, but there is no insurgency there. What differentiates the youth of the North-East from those of other parts is that the youth of the North-East, because of some situations, do not find any hope for the future. I have talked to many youths. They say, "We can fight. Once we know that we will get something one day, we can fight for our State, for India, for the nation." Somehow they do not have that hope that the future is going to be right because the whole area has been subjected to so many influences due to the partition and what has happened after the partition. Hundreds of thousands of people have crossed over and are still crossing over. The area is going to be highly polluted. The unemployment is increasing. The demographic scenario is impinging upon the social cohesion. As a result, you find that the youths are frustrated.

And we are not talking about the situation. This is not a situation to be tackled by each State for itself. This is a situation to be tackled by the Government of India, by the nation. These are national questions. If for some reason the trouble is being supported from across the border, the Government of India should be bold enough to see that it is checkmated across the border, right at the place of its origin. But the Government of India feels shy to talk about it. It likes to sit over it. It puts everything under the cover. This has been happening, and this is going on.

So, I am telling you, Madam, that though the North-East, by and large, is with India, there is no improvement in the situation in the North-East. The people of the North-East are with india. They are Indians. But the question they ask is: "Am I being treated as an Indian, the way I should be treated?" This is not happening. That is where the perception is lacking.

So, I want to repeat and ask what Mr. John Fernandes has said and what Chaturvediji has added to it. The Home Ministry will do well to study the problems of the North-East in depth and dimension. There must be a cell in the Home Ministry. The Home Ministry these days does not have even a library of its own. Whatever reports of studies on some States of the North-East were available, are not traceable, Officers have been transferred from one desk to another, and there is no continuity. This is a wonderful situation. When we have big problems, we should continue to study and watch the situation, improve our strategy, try to reshape our policy and try to see that our responses are more quick and prompt, but I am very unhappy to inform you that this is not being done. This should be done. I think, not only the Members from the North-Eastern region but also other thinking Members with alert mind, with very perspective mind, from other regions, the Southern region, the Western region and the Northern region, should be included in a committee to look into what is happening in the North-East.

What is happening in the North-East today is nothing but what has been happening in Jammu and Kashmir and Punjab. Letter on you will say that the Home Ministry cannot run this region, and you will hand it over to the defence forces. You will be spending hundreds and thousands of crores of rupees for nothing. There is still time. For God's sake, do something.

This is not the way. The Home Secretary just makes a visit to Guwahati, calls the Chief Secretaries and asks them what is happening there. Then he comes back and says that the situation has now improved and that the number of incidents have come down. But, after six o'clock, nobody goes out. After six o'clock nobody tries to take a taxi. One thinks thrice before one goes from Guwahati to Nowgong. There is perpetual tension. There is fear. There is lack of faith in the police and the administration. There is no faith in anything else. How is the situation improving?

4.00 P.M.

Have you restored the people's faith in the administration? Have the people got the feeling, yes, here is an administration, which will protect them and that they should give it the information? Nobody gives information about the insurgents, because, if they give the information to the administration, it will be leaked and they will be killed. So, why should the people cooperate with the administration, which is nothing but a eunuch? It cannot do anything. This is an ineffective administration. That is why you do not get the people's cooperation. The people know they cannot go anywhere out of India. They realise they have nowhere to go. That is why they are just participating in the elections. Even the so-called insurgents also take part in the elections, because they know some sort of a Government should be there with whose cooperation they will be able to loot exploit the area. This is the situation in the North-East today. So, for God's sake, study the whole scenario; see what is happening and what is likely to happen, because some hostile forces are going to exploit the whole area for some other motive and they are going to succeed in that if you do not do what you are required to do now. Madam, the Home Minister is a very learned man and a veteran leader. I request him to do something in the Home Ministry so that it wakes up. My complaint is that the Home Ministry is a sleeping Ministry. They should not just be guided by police reports.

PROF. RAM KAPSE: The Minister is sleeping.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): The Minister is not sleeping. He is listening carefully word-by-word. Don't be under a wrong impression.

SHRI N. THALAVAI SUNDARAM (Tamil Nadu): Madam, I am thankful to you for giving me this opportunity to discuss the problem relating to the North East region. As far as the problem is concerned, this is not only the problem of the State, but of the whole nation also.

Madam, there was a Committee called the 14-Member fact-finding Committee, which visited the seven States of the North-Eastern region. It went to Assam, Manipur, Nagaland, Tripura, Meghalaya and Arunachal Pradesh. The Committee consisted of 14 Members. It had two journalists, two lawyers, three scientists, of whom two were from the North-Eastern region, and one doctor. The Committee went to all the places of the area. It reported that there was a lack of communication, lack of roads, lack of transport and lack of employment.

Madam, the North-Eastern Council was constituted by an Act of Parliament. As far as this Council is concerned, it is an advisory body, which would discuss the matter of common interest of the North-Eastern States and the Union Government.

Madam, this region has long international borders totalling 1,126 kilometres. With China it has over 89 kilometres border; with Bhutan it has 1,643 kilome-tres border, with Bangladesh 187 kilometres border. As per this Committee the main problem is the long international borders.

Another problem is in the North-Eastern region there are no employment opporunities for the young people. The Assam Human Rights Commission organised a seminar last month in Assam. Justice Venkatachelliah participated in it. This seminar clearly mentioned that there is a lack of communications, roads and transport facilities and also a lack of employment opportunities.

As far as this 14-Member Committee Report is concerned, it says, in the North-Eastern region, over 200 tribes speak as many as 192 dialects. As far as Nagaland and Manipur are concerned, there is a threat to lives. As far as Assam is concerned, there is a problem of kidnapping. It is the main problem there. Now, my point is as far as our State is concerned, it is not another country, it is in India. These people are living in India. How are we going to settle this problem? This problem arose out of the dissatisfaction in the youngsters. The Government of India must give some opportunity to the young people, those who are living in a particular area. The problem can be solved by providing employment opportunities.

The second point is our learned friend, Shri Fernandes and other Members have suggested that we should form a committee to solve this problem. I feel that there is already a Standing Committee on Home Affairs who have said that funds which are sent to the concerned States should be monitored. A committee can be formed for a particular region consisting of political leaders from that region and from other States. The Government of India should take care of these young people and particularly tribals who are living in a greater number. They are not getting any jobs. People from across the border will encourage these yongsters and this problem will continue.

Now, my point is the Government of India must recruit local youth; then, the peoblem be solved. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): Mr. Minister.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA): No more speaker?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): Now, it is an easy job for you.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Madam Vice-Chairperson, I must thank all the hon. Members including Shri Narendra Mohan who brought up this matter for discussion and generated a very meaningful discussion which has been going on for four hours. Other Members have made very thought-provoking observations, suggestions, proposals and criticisms as to how to handle this vexed question of the North-East. Many, many points have been raised and I don't think it is possible for me to reply to each and every one of them in the time at my disposal. I have been moved, let me say. I am speaking for myself. I have been quite emotionally moved by some of the speeches that were made here today, particularly, by Members who represent that part of the country. They spoke with a national outlook, a patriotic outlook and with a feeling of deep anguish.

(THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHIR MD. SALIM) in the chair)

They have also referred to the glorious traditions and the past history of the people of the North-East... the freedom fighters, the martyrs and so on. Now, let me just mention one or two points on

which I have no quarrel at all. You can, if you like, say that I am accepting certain proposals, suggestions, which have been made and which also contain, within themselves, certain points of criticism. It is nobody's claim—at least it is not my claim—that the handling of the North-Eastern problem by the Government of India has been satisfactory or adequate at all. And, of course, you won't blame me, Mr. Vice-Chairman, when I say 'Government of India', I naturally cannot, in all fairness, confine myself to the record only of the present Government which has not been in office even for one year. I cannot absolve the Governments which preceded us and which ruled the country after Independence for nearly 50 years. We are now celebrating the 50th year of our Independence. But it would be very easy for me to say, "Well, you are blaming the present Government for not doing this, for not doing that and so on which may be quite correct; but what did the previous Government do for 50 years in tackling this problem?". Hon. Members have very correctly pointed out that this is not a problem which has suddenly developed overnight. It has been something which has its roots in the past and which has been going on accumulating in various ways and which has been complicated further by many factors, which has been mishandled also which has aggravated the problems to some extent. At the end of 50 years, we have found that there is not much light at the end of the tunnel. I do not see much light at the end of the tunnel at this moment. To me, Mr. Vice-Chairman, insurgency is not just a question of an act of violence. It is a symptom. It is very tragic that all these people are being killed and losing their lives, whether they be civilians or members of the security forces. After all, the members of the security forces are also our own citizens. They are dressed in uniform. That is the only difference. They are people with their own families, their wives and children. Many of them—I can say from my first-hand experience—are leading a very, very difficult life. They are cut off from their families. They have no housing. They do not get any leave. They do not get even leave which is necessary for training purposes. They are constantly on the move. But that is the duty which has been assigned to them. And I must say that, under such circumstances, I find that on the whole—despite everything that is said against the security forces, the fact that some excesses are committed which, of course, should not be committed, and all that—under these very difficult circumstances, they are a pretty disciplined lot of people. They are risking their lives. Many of them have been killed and many have been disabled. But they carry out their duties in a fairly disciplined manner.

Now, under such circumstances, I am not talking so much about the army. The Home Ministry does not have much to do directly with the army. We have these paramilitary forces. I think, their accusation about the excesses being committed by personnel of these para military forces against the civilian population, about the Army, I am not replying. It is not my job to reply.

SHRI NARENDRA MOHAN: Sorry, Sir. The Government of India must reply because it is a question of insurgency in the North-East. You are replying, Mr. Minister.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: This is all connected with insurgency. Isn't it? I was saying, to my mind, insurgency, first and foremost, exists in the mind, in the mind of the people, in the mind and heart of people in that region. There is a spirit of insurgency which has grown, developed over the years. It was not created in a single day. And what are all the factors which contributed to that? I need not relate again; so many Members have spoken about that, how the sense of frustration has developed, how the feeling of neglect has developed, the feeling of not getting their due share in the development process, of young

people not getting any kind of possibilities or outlets for gainful employment, of the total lack of industry, infrastructure and all that. So many things have contributed to it. Many Members here have quite correctly pointed out those things, and all these, in the end, after so many years I suppose, have created a feeling, a mood, a spirit of insurgency which is there in the mind of the people, especially in the mind of the young people. It is expressed outwardly in these acts of violence of taking to the gun when no other channel appears to be visible. I think this is a feature which we have found not only in the North-East—of course, it is not relevant to the present discussion—but there are other parts of the country—I do not wish to go into all that now—where young men, frustrated young men, unemployed young men, have taken to the path of the gun. Even when you could not say that they were living in areas which were completely poverty-stricken, although they were totally unemployed, we had one of the worst phases of insurgency or militancy, or whatever you like to call it, or secessionism in Punjab. So many young people took to the gun, but it was not necessary that the same economic factors operated there. There were other factors operating there.

Now, I agree with one thing which many Members have pointed out here that for the Government of India and the Ministry of Home Affairs it is very, very essential that they should educate themselves first of all, they should learn much more, should study much more about the problems, the features, the background, the history and all that, of this area if they want to understand what the mind and the mood of the people there is and how they should be treated when dealing with them. That degree of study, I think, is not there yet. Committees were set up. Setting up this committee, that committee is, of course not a very difficult thing to do. There are already two or three Committees. I may tell Mr. Chaturvedi that the Consultative Committee of our Ministry during the last Session held two meetings, one after the other, where the agenda was only the North-East and most of the Members who attended those meetings, came from the North-East and spoke there. Well, of course, we got some benefit out of those meetings; no doubt, but nothing very original or new came out of it. Anyway, then there is the Standing Committee of the Parliament which has produced a very meaningful Report which many Members referred to.

The Government has also set up a High-Powered Commission which is chaired by Shri Shukla, a member of the Planning Commission. This Commission is supposed to study the backlog in infrastructure in the North-East. I think it has already completed the study on the backlog in infrastructure in the North-East and the basic minimum services, i.e. what the situation is in the North-East regarding basic minimum services. This report has been received and I am told that the Planning Commission is studying it very carefylly and very deeply. They want to get some material out of that report for incorporation in the....

DR. B.B. DUTTA: Mr. Minister, the report which you are referring to is being treated as a secret document. It has not been circulated. The other day I was in the Planning Commission. I found that even two Members of the Planning Commission could not get a chance to have a look at the report. I don't understand this kind of secrecy when we talk of transparency. The report pertains to economic matters.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Mr. Dutta, I have understood your point. I will look into it immediately. There is nothing secretive about it. It is a report regarding studying the problem of infrastructure and the minimum social services which are to be provided to the people in the North-East. If somebody is behaving in a secretive manner or not allowing other members of the Planning Commission to

look at it, well I take it from you what you are saying. It is highly deplorable. It should be made a public document.

A high-level Expert Committee has also been set up to look into the problems of the educated unemployed in the North-East. Its report has been received on the 7th May by the Planning Commission and it is being examined. I hope something will come out of it also. Of course, there are educated unemployed in many parts of the country. It is quite a problem to meet their requirements. In places like the North-East, it is even more difficult. What kind of gainful employment can we give to these lakhs and lakhs of educated unemployed is a matter which requires a great deal of thought and a great deal of study.

Then one remark was made here by several hon. Members. There is no controversy about it. The remark was that what we are considering here is certainly not just a law and order problem. Nobody has that kind of a superficial outlook about it. If the statement which was read out by me here conveyed that kind of an impression that the Ministry considers it to be just a law and order question, I am sorry for that because there is not the remotest idea like that in anybody's mind. Everybody knows that it is not a law and order problem. Of course, law and order problems has been mixed up with it. There is no doubt about it. We heard Shri Narendra Mohan's speech where he was emphasising very much the fact that this kind of violence, attacks on people, attacks on officers, attacks on security forces, attacks on innocent civilians, attacks on businessmen, attacks on traders, forcible extortion of money, kidnappings and all these things are going on. He was rather charging the Government with its failure to do anything to curb these criminal activities. Of course, this aspect is a law and order aspect. if you want that citizens and people of that area should be protected and their life and property should be protected, we cannot help except to send the security forces there. Of course, they must be properly trained people and they must be properly deployed having been sent there. There are some State Governments and some representatives of various States who sometimes approach us and try to pressurise us to send more and more, quantitatively more and more, forces to their particular areas as if that by itself is going to solve the problem. It is not going to solve the problem. I am quite convinced of it. Nevertheless, when some situation develops, when there are a lot of killings going on or a number of incidents have taken place, we cannot refuse it. If it is possible, we give them some extra forces.

We find that in the case of our paramilitary forces and from what I hear from my friends in the army also, there is a certain lack of training which should be in conformity with the conditions in those places. So, it is not just a question of numbers. It is a question of proper training. I may say, one sphere in which perhaps we are lagging behind quite a lot is the condition of our intelligence information without which no security forces can operate. Generally, our forces do not have their own intelligence outfits. They depend on the intellingence which is supplied to them by the local police of the State in which they are operating and the police forces generally have very weak intelligence outfits and sometimes we have found that this affects the operation itself. One case in point, just as an example I am pointing out, is the recent attack on the CRPF forces in Tripura just one week ago which led to very heavy casualties. So, partly, from the reports that I have got, partly, at least, this was due to the failure of intelligence. There is no doubt about it. Apparently, these insurgents got prior information about the movement of our security forces, whereas, our people did not have any information about how these people were going to operate and where they had laid the

ambush for our people. Anyway, this was an ambush casualty which could have been avoided. There was no need for such heavy casualty at all. But due to some carelessness, due to weak intelligence, due to the dificult terrain, of course, it is a heavily forested area and all that, they walked into a trap and 19 people were killed in one action. In fact, nobody survived. They had been sent out in order to apprehend a group of insurgents who were reproted to be moving about in a particular area. Whether that information was correct or not, I do not know. May be, it was a deliberate false information meant to mislead our people. In any case, it led to this very severe setback, severe in the sense that it was not the number of people who were killed, but this kind of thing has a very demoralising effect on the whole security force. Even the army told me that in Assam, they find it difficult to get intelligence information. For example, take the BODO regions. In the BODO region, the people on whom the security forces depend in order to procure intelligence information or to act as interrogators or to act as informers, are local people, the BODO people. Our army, our security people do not know the language. They do not know a word about the local language.

I find this in other cases also where the Border Security Forces and the CRPF operate, the personnel who are sent on duty to various areas do not belong to that area at all. They are people who are acting under compulsion half the time. You have to take people from wherever they are available. For example, people in the BSF or the CRPF are from Haryana or Punjab or from somewhere else and they are doing duty there in West Bengal; Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, in your State, the local villagers, people with whom they deal with, do not understand a word they are saying. They do not understand a word which is spoken by the villagers. This is also a factor which is constantly leading to some sort of misunderstanding and difficulties. Certainly this cannot be continued. I was very suprised, I asked the people that in all these years you have been operating in Assam for many years. In all this time, you have not been able to pick up a few people to train them, people who can speak and understand the local language and use them for purposes of intelligence gathering. But now you say that they do not know the language. So it is as simple as that. Such kind of things also happen which impede the efficient working in this security force. Anyway, what I want to say is that it is certainly not a law and order question. It is a question which has been raised here in all its different aspects and facets by hon. Members. The question of development is uppermost in the North-East. But what type of development? People do not want to invest their money for obvious reasons. We have tried, we have approached various associations of businessmen, various chambers of commerce and all that. Are they willing to invest money in that area for some type of employment, even self-investment schemes and so on where youngmen can be absorbed? But they are not trained to invest money there because of the unstable conditions, because of violence which is going on. So who has to go there? Companies will not go there. The tea gardens are already there for a long, long time. Those tea garden companies are there. But who else will go there? It is one of the complaints that except tea gardens we do not have anything else. But nowadays who is going to go there and waste their money? Then the public sector has to go. The Government has to invest Government funds. That also is a big problem. What funds will they invest, in what and where? It was a good thing that Mr. Deve Gowda visited the North-East. Incidently, he was the first Prime Minister to do so. Now I think our present Prime Minister is also planning to pay a visit in the near future to the North-Eastern States. It is a good thing that he came out with these package proposals for each of the seven States

separately. They are there contained in the official document. You can refer to them again, if you like. But I agree that the question is of implementing that. Money is allotted. So many hundreds of crores and so many thousand of crores are allotted. But the problem is how to implement and how to guarantee that this money is really spent for the purpose for which it is allotted and not diverted for something else or not misappropriated by the insurgents. I do not go with this theory. Misappropriation goes on a big scale but there are other people also who are intersted in misappropriation. There are contractors, there are officials at various levels, people who are connected with the Government machinery. Not only there, we are seeing it in the whole country. Of course, monitoring has to be done. How is it to be done? Who has to do it? We have an idea, I do not know whether it will work. But the main responsibility in the North-East, at least for those Rs. 6,100 crore packages which were announed by Deve Gowda, should be put on those State Governments. We should call the Chief Ministers, their Chief Secretaries, their Finance Secretaries, etc. of all those States and squarely tell them that you have got to carry out these package proposals, you will be held responsible, you will be held accountable, you have to have a time-frame, you have to work out these things, report regularly to the Centre and we will also send people to check up but you have got to do it. This is your top priority job, otherwise, you will be taken to task.

Who else is going to monitor? How will it be monitored? All the Chief Ministers of the North-Eastern States come to attend the meetings of the North-Eastern Council. But they are more interested in using this platform only to ventilate their demand for more funds, more finances. They complain in these meetings that necessary funds are not available and that they want more money. I think the North-Eastern Council should not be used only for this purpose. It is a body which should act as a co-ordinating agency for the whole region, for all these States, as somebody suggested here. But I think the job of monitoring of these huge sums of money which go from the Centre to these States should be that of the States. Now what you find in the end result is that no development has taken place. This is a very serious matter. This money is going down the drain. Most of this money is going down the drain. It is not going into those areas where it is needed urgently. Therefore, the monitoring responsibility-let us try-should be put first and foremost on the State Governments. They are not very big States. The population is also not very large. It should be possible for these State Governments if they take these matters seriously and carry out the monitoring exercise so as to see that this money is spent for the best possible purposes and in the best possible manner. We hope to be able to start that exercise. In between, there is no Government for a while. Something has got dislocated because of that.

The other thing I wish to say is that in these package plans, a lot of emphasis was laid on infrastructure. I think you remember that. New railway lines are being opened. New bridges are being built. Roads are being repaired and reconstructed. All these works are part of this Rs. 6,100 crores' package. That is the big challenge before us at the moment. According to our information, incidents of violence and violent incidents are showing a gradual decline. It is not correct to say that this is going up. It is going down, but very gradually. There is a declining trend. If you like, you can go through the figures. I have got all the charts with me. They do show a declining trend. But what is going on even now is not of too much comfort to us at all. But I don't share the counsel of despair which was voiced by Dr. Dutta. He says that everything has collapsed. Everything is bad and everything is worse. I don't agree with that. One reason for improvement, to

some extent, is the fact—and I think this House would be gratified to know—that the new Government in Bangladesh is co-operating with us in the matter of closing down and uprooting of all training camps which are operating on the Bangladeshi soil. They gave us a solemn assurance and this assurance was given at the highest level when we visited Bangladesh and spoke to their authorities. After that, their people came here, not twice but thrice, I think. The top-ranking police officials, security people have been here and interacted with our people. They are definitely taking action to close down and uproot the training camps which are there. We see it on the ground because there is an influx. We can see a sudden spurt in the influx of people from across the border. They are not illegal migrants. They are people who are being trained in the training camps there. They are really our own people who have gone across the border for safety. With the closing down of the camps there, they have started coming back. Temporarily this may lead to a spurt in violent activities on our side of the border because they are coming back and we are trying to intercept them. Naturally. This is a good opportunity to intercept them when they try to cross the border. For that purpose, our security forces are being deployed in a particular manner. But there are still many places, for example, Bhutan, as mentioned by some hon. Member in the House.

These ULFA people have set up a whole number of camps in the southern part of Bhutan and they operate from there. They come into Assam, carry out their activities and then go back into Bhutan. Of course, the King of Bhutan, who is a good friend of ours, is himself worried about this whole thing because whatever Army or Police he has got in Bhutan, it is not capable of dealing with these people. So, he has also been discussing with us. He wants some help from us in training his Police and the Bhutanese Army and in giving them some better equipments and all that. Otherwise, he feels that those camps may become ultimately a threat to him also in Bhutan. That is one place where these people are still getting a sanctuary.

Where do they get their money from? They have got plenty of money. Many Members have asked this question. Well, we don't have any specific evidence of foreign funding as such. But they are extorting huge sums all along the border from various types of people including Government employees, businessmen, traders, merchants and everybody. They are extorting regularly large sums of money. These people out of fear and having no other alternative I suppose, are giving in to their demands and giving this money.

As regards Burma I would like to say that the Burmese authorities have been cooperating with us in the recent period. In fact, they helped our security forces to apprehend some of the people on the border. It is true that some of the leaders of these insurgent outfits have been taking shelter in Bangkok in Thailand. I don't know why they have a liking for Bangkok. But some of them have been there. There was a reference to the visit of Mr. Rajesh Pilot to Bangkok. Well, I think he won't mind, even if he is not here now. He doesn't deny it; so I can say it openly. He was asked to go by the previous Government because while he was the Internal Security Minister it seems that he had developed some contacts with the leaders of the NSCN, specially Isaac-Moiba group. And they are at present, I may say, the most organised, the most aggressive, the best army, the best trained outfit in the whole of the North-East. So, after the Prime Minister had made his public declaration that we were prepared to negotiate and were prepared to discuss with any of these groups without any conditions if they were prepared to come to the negotiating table, I don't know exactly at whose instance, but Mr. Pilot was sent to contact them in Bangkok...

SHRI TRILOKI NATH CHATURVEDI: It is good but if this

information had been confirmed by you in the morning and that was our insistence—then a lot of haggling and wastage of time of the House would have been avoided at that point of time, because we knew about it. I have some extracts. We know who sent him. Though it may not be fair for you to say so, as you said, Mr. Pilot doesn't deny it and even the Government had indirectly admitted it.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Now it is in the Press. Everybody knows.

SHRI TRILOKI NATH CHATURVEDI: It is good that you have clarified the situation. So, Mr. Narendra Mohan was not that very wrong.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: You see, it produced some results in the sense that this Isaac and Moiba group, who are the top leaders of this NSCN—and you probably know, that has also come out in the Press, it is nothing secret now...

SHRI TRILOKI NATH CHATURVEDI: Mr. Pranab Mukherjee and Mr. Ahluwalia were needlessly agitated.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: I don't know about Mr. Pranab Mukherjee. But they have a meeting with Mr. Deve Gowda. They wanted to come and talk. They sent some indications and feelers that they were ready to talk. And they had one meeting with Mr. Deve Gowda. Nothing came out of it, of course.

SHRI NARENDRA MOHAN: They had the meeting in Geneva.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Not exactly in Geneva. The meeting was in Zurich, in Switzerland. Because that was the way the meeting had been arranged by our IB. I am not in a position, nor, I think, am I really...

SHRI NARENDRA MOHAN: Mr. Minister, that was what I was referring to. I wanted to know whether the PMO is intervening or the Home Ministry is responsible or the Defence Ministry is responsible or the State Government is responsible. That was the point I made. I personally think—as per my information—there is not much communication between the PMO and the Home Ministry on such important issues.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Well, I leave you with your thoughts.

SHRI TRILOKI NATH CHATURVEDI: You have explained the position...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: The point is the meeting was held. The first meeting up to now, the only meeting that has been held so far and what I came to know from Mr. Deve Gowda on his return was that he told them quite clearly that before we start discussing any other issues—because, actually, the idea of this meeting would be to find out what they want, what their demand is after all, what they are wanting—but he told them that before we come to discuss any such thing, you people must make one thing clear publicly—how you do it, by what form, by what method, that is for you to decide—but you must make it publicly clear that you are with India, you are Indians, you are with India, you are not outside India, you are not against India. This you must make clear. Without making this clear, there can be no further talks. Of course, they did not make that declaration there and then in that meeting. They said, "Well, you have not understood the history of the Naga Independence Movement. It is not the same as other North-Eastern States. It has got a different history and background from the time of Phizo and all that, and we had told the British at that time that we are not prepared to join with India. And we have been fighting ever since, so on and so on." But, they did not come out. At the same time, they were very anxious to begin talks because, I think, they are getting tired. After all, they are old men and they are not in the best of health also. How long can you remain living in jungles and forests and knowing full well that nothing is coming

out. Now and then, when they issue statements, they always talk about sovereignty, that they are not going to accept anything less than sovereignty, which obviously, we are not going to agree to. So, they have no perspective in front of them, except going on leading this life in forests and jungles which is not a very pleasant outlook.

By the way the news of this talk, I am told, has been very widely welcomed among the ordinary people in Nagaland who are really fed-up now. They want peace. 'Peace in Nagaland' is the slogan and people would like that something further should be pursued in this respect and something should come out of it, some kind of settlement or agreement or something. But, it is too early to say anything just now because all that has happened, I have told you already. Beyond that, nothing has happened yet.

As far as other groups like ULFA—ULFA is a very active group in Assam—are concerned, they have not shown any sign of wanting to come and have talks. They also talk about sovereignty; they also talk about, well, if any negotiations are to be held, their one condition is that they must be held somewhere outside India, not in India. One very old Member here, from Assam, whom I respect very much said in his speech today that if the only thing which stands in the way of holding talks is the venue—where the venue will be, whether it will be here or whether it will be outside in some other country—we should not make it a matter of prestige. He said that it should not be treated as a matter of prestige. Peace is much more important. People want peace there. They are fed up. The want to return to normal and peaceful life. Well, anyway, this question is open. We have not decided or clinched anything on that yet.

This is one aspect of the question. I want to say that as far as the Government is concerned, we feel that a long-term perspective of setting this North-Eastern region problem is certainly not by means of guns or armies. From time to time, on occasions, you have to use this instrument. You cannot help it. But in the long-term, if you want a lasting settlement or some kind of a political agreement or settlement, it can only be done on the basis of having talks and negotiations with these people. They must tell us exactly what they want and what their demand is. We are not going to tolerate any demand for secession from India or going out of India. Remaining within the framework of India and the Indian Constitution, they should tell us what they want and what their vrievances are. They may have some justified grievances—I do not deny it. They may have some demands; some concessions they may be wanting which will not in any way harm the framework of the whole situation. But, we do not know. They should tell us and whoever comes to negotiate, if they come ultimately, must be people who are authorised, of course, to talk on behalf of their followers. Otherwise, somebody will say something and somebody else will challenge or repudiate their stand. They have also, I believe, said that whoever comes to talk to them from the Government of India side, must be somebody who can deliver the goods. Well, in that case the Prime Minister himself was there. They could not raise that question very much. But, they had some feelers earlier saying whoever comes to talk on behalf of the Government of India must be somebody who is authorised and can deliver the goods. It is obvious. That much guarantee we can give you. So, this is the position at present. Therefore, I am saying ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI NARENDRA MOHAN: As a matter of clarification, Mr. Minister, you have banned certain major insurgent groups as unlawful associations. What is your difficulty in declaring all other minor or major—I can give you a list of 22; there may be other—insurgent groups in declaring them unlawful associations?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Mr.

Narendra Mohan, you have given me a list. You have written down on a piece of paper; rather you have given me a typed paper—very good—giving the names of the groups which, according to you, are supporting insurgency. By 'supporting insurgency', I suppose you mean indulging in insurgent activities in the North-Eastern Region. Here you have given names of some organisations—

2 or 22 organisations. I have got with me a list of all the major groups, as we see them as major groups—three of them in Assam, two of them in Tripura, six of them in Manipur and one in Nagaland. There is no hard and fast thing as to who to declare illegal and whom not to declare illegal. There are some groups which have never, as far as we know, up to now voiced any demand for secession from India. There are some groups which are talking constantly about independence, sovereignty and so on and so forth. But, there are some which do not talk about secession or going out of india. Moreover, they are small, very small groups, with a small number of people with them. So, we are not bothered about taken action against them in the sense of declaring them to be unlawful. If the necessity arises or such a situation develops, there is no bar to it. We will see about that.

SHRI NARENDRA MOHAN: Just a minute, Mr. Minister. ...*(Interruptions)*... In your statement. ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): You have already put your questions. ...*(Interruptions)*... This is not fair. ...*(Interruptions)*... Let him conclude. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: But, simply declaring organisations illegal or unlawful, I do not think, gets us very far. It does not get us very far. It gives some additional powers to the security forces to act which also is something which produces a contradictory response from many people who think that it will encourage the secrurity forces to commit more excesses.

You cannot have it both ways. Either these people have to take steps against insurgents or you need not send anybody and leave it like that. But the point is, I may tell you, the authorities of the paramilitary Forces, and even of the army, I have heard from the Chief of the Army Staff himself, very seriously, now-a-days, they are thinking of training their men, specially the officers about the need to respect human rights. It has become a big issue now. It has become an international issue which is frequently used against India for propaganda purposes by the Western powers particularly. Apart from the fact that violation of human rights is a crime which nobody can suuport or endorse, they are taking steps now, they are taking steps to impress upon the personnel, particularly officers who command the men, to be extra careful about this, specially when they come into confrontation with the civilian population sometimes, that they must be very careful to see that the human rights are properly respected. In cases where there are proved allegations of rape or of looting by security forces personnel, there they started taking action also. I may tell you, I have not got the figure with me right now, the figure which they have given shows how many people belonging to the security forces have been actually punished, penalised and even been, in some cases, dismissed because of violation of human rights. I do not say that it is completely a satisfactory position yet, because these people are trained in a particular way and they have got a particular outlook. If the police in Delhi can behave the way they have been behaving, tell me, if the police can behave this way in Delhi, in the capital city of this country, what do you expect these people who are out there in the jungles, forests, hills and fighting against insurgents who are also armed? Here, the police are beating up people who are just ordinary unarmed

civilians. We must make some allowance that these people must be properly trained. They must think why it is necessary, why it is essential for them to behave in a different way. Sometimes, under intense provocation they do react hastily which leads to unfortunate consequences. But, I think, gradually we will be able to control this more and more with public cooperation.

I would like to say that Mr. Majumdar read out something here which impressed me. He said, historically this North-East has been looked upon with bias by all the Governments which have been here from the days of the British, as a sort of 'all frontier region', not really a regular part of the whole mainland, but as a sort of frontier region and that creates a certain kind of psychology. Considerations of so called strategy operate in the minds of the rulers and the aspirations and feelings and sentiments of the local people are ignored. They are striving for establishment of their identity, social, cultural identity. This aspiration is growing more and more everyday. Everybody knows what is happening in the country, the way the country is developing. So, this is kind of psychology is something which we must dispel from our minds. Then, I do not agree that there are a large number of officers, as was alleged here, who are refusing to go and take up postings in that region because of fear or something. It is not true. There may be one or two cases; I do not know. Everyday I am dealing with this matter. So many officers are posted there, going there, serving there their whole tenure of service, doing very good work, taking risks and so on.

5.00 P.M.

But many of these officers, due to their past background, do have a sort of bureaucratic outlook. There is no doubt about it. It is a question of how you mix with the local people, how you deal with them, how you treat them, how you make them feel whether they are a part of the country or not. In these matters, there are some deficiencies which require to be made up.

One suggestion was made which I propose to look into. It was that, some leading citizens in various areas in the North-East should be absorbed into the committees, into the locally-established committees, who would be in a better position to understand the local people and who would be asked to perform the various functions which, at the present moment, are biven only to professional Government servants or bureaucrats who cannot communicate with the local people the way they are required to communicate. This is a very useful suggestion which I propose to look into. This is a very useful which I propopse to look into. This is a very useful suggestion which I propose to look into and see how it could be operated.

Then, Sir, a remark was made; or, rather, a question was asked. It was asked whether there was any evidence that these missionaries, the Christian missionaries, were having a hand in this insurgency, or, encouraging insurgency activities. Now, the biggest chunk of the missionaries, the Christian missionaries, is found in Nagaland. This year was, perhaps, the 150th anniversary of the coming of Christianity to this area, which they celebrated very widely, everywhere, in all the churches, schools and so on. It is an overwhelming Christian population, after all. These people, these missionaries, to my knowledge, always actively propagate the idea of peace. They tell the Nagas. Every Sunday, one priest or the other is delivering his sermon in his church. He tells his congregation: 'What kind of Christians you consider yourselves to be? The first thing which Jesus Christ taught us was that we should give up vilence and we should not kill each other, fight with each other, which you fellows are doing all the time; You say that you are Christians, but you are acually violating what was preached by Christ'. I know some priests there who have been threatened: 'if you

are talking like this, you would get into serious trouble'. Still, they are doing it. They are also making a contribution to creating a climate of peace and to seeing that the people there give up this kind of violent activities. We have no evidence that they themselves have been encouraging or instigating insurgency.

There was one question which was asked. Sir, I do not know whether it is possible for me to go into all the points. So many points have been made.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): It is not possible.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Shri Narendra Mohan, when he began his speech, asked as to why my statement had not said anything about the ISI. Well, of course, ISI activities are going on. There is no doubt aboaut it. They are going on all along the border. They are going on inside our country also. They are going on in Nepal. They have established a base in Nepal from where they operate, where, very often, some of the leaders of the insurgent groups from here go and meet them, hold some kind of a consultation with them; I do not know what. But to identify a particular group of people or persons who are the operatives from the ISI is very difficult. I have not named anybody, particularly.

Our Intelligence people, our security people, are constantly on the job. In regard to some of the incidents which have taken place in Delhi and round-about, they have arrested some people. They suspect that these are people sent by the ISI. Earlier this year, around 26th January, Republic Day, there were widespread stories, rumours and reports coming to our people that the ISI had planned a very big operation in and around Delhi on Republic Day when a number of targets had been identified by them where they were going to have some bomb explosions and that kind of thing to create panic and do a lot of damage. Those reports reached us in good time and precautionary measures were taken, were intensified, and I am glad to say, as you all saw, that actually no such incident took place at all during that time. But ISI people are active, obviously. It is one of their main agencies which operate. But they operate through other people. Nobody is walking about with an ISI badge or label pinned to his shirt. Obviously, they use their own agents. They operate through undercover agents and it is not always easy to identify and catch those people. But I can assure Mr. Narendra Mohan that we are very, very much conscious of the fact that ISI is operating and, may be, some of the funds are coming from them—we do not know. Certainly they are active in organising smuggling of arms across the border, especially the Indo-Nepal border; that is a very, very porous border and easy to penetrate. And we have caught some people there on that border who were trying to smuggle arms into India. Possibly they are ISI people.

So, Sir, I have covered not all, but many of the points which were raised, and I would say that there is nothing to get very panicky about. This is a continuing problem which has lived with us for so many years and I think we are better equipped now, politically and psychologically. We have some deficiencies to make up on the ground, which we propose to do. It means spending a lot more of money, but that has to be done; it can't be helped. And it is not true that all our forces are operating with out-of-date, dilapidated and ramshackle weapons and only their people coming from their side have all got very good, modern, weapons and all that. That may have been the situation some years ago. That is not the position now. Our regular forces, our para-military forces and, of course, the army, are quite well-equipped. And we have seen it recently on the Kashmir border, for example. You know that there the infiltration is continuing. It was a little less in the last two, three months because the passes were not open for them to come. But now the passes are opening

again and we can expect that some more people will be sought to be pushed across the border.

Pakistan is not going to give up Kashmir that easily just because we have had elections there and there is a Government there now. They are continuing with their tactics of sending people across to create conditions of terror and panic and shake the confidence of the people and all that. But we are seeing that among the people who are coming and who are caught, arrested and killed—some of them—the ratio of Kashmiri youth is getting less and less and the proportion of foreigners—mercenaries—from Afghanistan, from Yemen, from Sudan, from Egypt and such type of countries is more. They have been arrested; some of them have been caught. They were questioned, "Why have you come here? Your country is far away from here. What brought you here? To be caught and shot?" They are young people, very young boys. Some of them say, "We don't know. We were told that there is a jehad going on here and Islam is in danger and so we must go and fight to save Islam. So we came." Anyway, they are now either staying in jail or they have lost their lives. But their proportion is going up compared to the ratio of the local Kashmiri youth who used to be recruited earlier in much larger numbers. It seems it is now becoming difficult for them to get so many local boys.

SHRI TRILOKI NATH CHATURVEDI: Mr. Minister, will you yield for a moment?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Yes.

SHRI TRILOKI NATH CHATURVEDI: This information that you have given is rather vital to the security of the country. I am sure that you must have conveyed it to the Ministry of External Affairs also....

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Oh, yes.

SHRI TRILOKI NATH CHATURVEDI: .....so that they can also take up this matter with the Ambassadors of those countries in our country so that the proper position of India is explained by them in their own countries.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Oh, yes, you are right.

SHRI TRILOKI NATH CHATURVEDI: Thank you.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: The Ministry of External Affairs is very much in the know of this, and I have no doubt that it will take appropriate measures to inform those Governments.

So, Mr. Vice-Chairman, this is all I have to say at the moment. I tried to answer many of the points. Some of them have not been answered. May be on some future occasion...

DR. B.B. DUTTA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir,...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): He has answered almost all points. ...*(Interruptions)*.

DR. B.B. DUTTA: Two important points have been made on the North-Eastern Council. I am not expecting any answer from him. ...*(Interruptions)*.

The Chief Ministers come to the North-Eastern Council and fight for money. The actual situation is this. They may want money. That is their normal nature.

The question is that the North-Eastern Council Secretariat has deteriorated too much. It is badly staffed. It was a novel institution, an ingenious institution. It is in a very bad shape now. The Chief Ministers from the North-Eastern region demanded in the Coordination Committee time and again for invigorating the North-Eastern Council which has got a very important role to play, an imaginative role to play in regional planning.

The Home Ministry is the nodal ministry to handle this. A permanent Chairman should be there. When the North-Eastern Council was created, there

was one Governor, and that Governor used to chair it. There was no problem. Now there are as many Governors as are the number of States. So the North Eastern Council has to be given a good shape.

Secondly, I have just one submission to make on what he said about the declining trend of the insurgency. If you study the geographic coverage and the population coverage from the strategic point of view, you will find that the insurgents have lately increased their sway.

I am just giving one example. The North Cachar Hills and Karbi Anlong were not within the sphere of the NSCN group which you have referred to. But in Assam they are within their sphere. This is one example. This is food for thought for you.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: I agree with you about the North-Eastern Council. I did not go into the detail. The Secretariat of the North-Eastern Council is hopelessly weak. It has a very weak Secretariat. If the North-Eastern Council is to perform broader, wider functions than it has been performing, its Secretariat has to be reorganised.

Incidentally, I am supposed to be the Chairman of the Council. Since I took over, only one meeting was called, but, unfortunately, I could not attend that particular meeting for some reason. Now we are going to call another meeting. The Secretariat will be overhauled. We will see that the agenda of the North-Eastern Council is more purposeful and useful than it has been in the past.

About the NSCN, you will find now that the NSCN is everywhere along the North-Eastern border. It has become a coordinating and leading link or rather an agency which is organising, leading and training all the other groups. I may say this. I have said it earlier also. The NSCN is really the most important, aggressive, the best organised, the best trained and the best-armed lot of people. As a result, we should deal with it in various ways so that the rest of the groups also feel the impact of that on them.

प्रो॰ विजय कुमार मल्होत्रा: उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं गृहमंत्री जी से यह जानना चाहता था कि यह जो यूनीफाइड कमांड वहां बनाई गई थी, उसके बारे में पिछले दिनों जब सेना ने एक डायरी पकड़ी तो पुलिस की तरफ से कहा गया कि उनको कोई इन्फोरमेशन नहीं है आई॰एस॰आई॰ के इन्वोल्वमेंट की, बाकी सब चीजों की। तो हम यह जानना चाहते थे कि यह यूनीफाइड कमांड जो बनाई गई है पुलिस, पैरा-मिलिटरी फोर्सेस और मिलिटरी की, उनके आपसी रिलेशन क्या हैं? और, क्या वह ठीक तरह से काम कर रही है? क्योंकि पिछले दिनों इसके बारे में बहुत अखबारों में आया कि आर्मी के हाथ में जो कुछ आता है वह पैरा-मिलिटरी को मालूम नहीं और पेरा-मिलिटरी के हाथ में जो आता है वह पुलिस को मालूम नहीं और इनके कोई यूनीफाइड एफर्ट्स वहां पर नहीं हो रहे हैं।

श्री इन्द्रजीत गुप्त: उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, यह बात ठीक नहीं है। यूनीफाइड कमाण्ड केवल असम के लिए बनाई गई। हम लोग खुद गए थे, मैं गया था। सब लोगों को लेकर बैठा गया, बातचीत हुई। उसके बाद यह तय हुआ कि यह यूनीफाइड कमांड, शायद यह नाम जो है यूनीफाइड कमांड, इससे कुछ लोगों को गलतफहमी होती है क्योंकि वहां एक प्रचार भी शुरू हो गया। उस वक्त कुछ लोगों ने प्रचार किया कि इसका मतलब है, असम को मिलिटरी के हाथ में दे दिया जा रहा है।

आर्मी के हाथ में सौंपा जा रहा है। यूनीफाइड कमांड, एक मिलिट्री मिलिट्री किस्म का शब्द होता है न, ऐसा लगता है। इसको अगर यूनीफाइड कमांड न बोलकर दूसरा नाम देते, कोआर्डिनेटिड कमांड या इसी तरह का कोई दूसरा, कोआर्डिनेटिड एजेंसी, तो शायद ज्यादा ठीक रहता। इसका उद्देश्य था कि आर्मी, पैरामिलिट्री और असम का जो सिविल एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन है इन्क्लूडिंग पुलिस, ये तीनों इससे पहले वहां मिलकर एक साथ काम नहीं कर रहे थे, इनमें कोआर्डिनेशन करना और यह तो आप बोल रहे हैं कि यह क्या कर रहा है, उसको नहीं मालूम, वह क्या कर रहा है, उसको मालूम नहीं है, तो वहां पर यह हालत थी और हमने देखा कि इस कारण से वहां असल में कुछ काम नहीं हो रहा। इसलिए यह आइडिया वहां रखा गया, चीफ मिनिस्टर वगैरह सब थे, उन सब लोगों ने वैलकम किया और फिर यह बॉडी हमने वहां सेट-अप की है। यह नहीं कि सबों को सब काम करना है, दो कमेटियां बनाई गई

हैं एक बनाई गई है, जिसका काम होगा कि लॉंग टर्म की जो स्ट्रेटिजी है, उसके बारे में वह बातचीत करेगी और तय करेगी और उसका चेयरमैन बनाया गया है असम के चीफ सैक्रेटरी को उसमें जो कमांडर है, मिलिट्री कमांडर, जी०ओ०सी०, वह भी रहेगा, लेकिन उसका चेयरमैन चीफ सैक्रेटरी होगा और दूसरी एक कमेटी बनाई गई है ऑपरेशनल काम के लिए जो एकच्युअल ऑपरेशन्स होंगे, उन ऑपरेशन्स को प्लान करना, देखना, संभालना और मॉनिटर करना और इस कमेटी के चेयरमैन होंगे जी०ओ०सी० मिलिट्री कमांडर तो इस ढंग से वह आपस में कोआर्डिनेट करके काम कर रहे हैं अभी तक तो लगता है कि कुछ अच्छा नतीजा भी निकल रहा है और वह प्रचार जो लोग पहले कर रहे थे, वह प्रचार सब सुनने में नहीं आता।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Thank you, Mr. Home Minister. We had a fruitful discussion. I wish you would bring about peace in the North-Eastern region, which will help in the development of the area.

Now, we take up discussion on the Ministry of Welfare. We had concluded the discussion, which was raised by Shri Sunder Singh Bhandari on 8th May. We discussed it on 8th and 9th May. Now, the Welfare Minister is to reply. Shri Balwant Singh Ramoowalia.

DISCUSSION ON THE WORKING OF THE MINISTRY OF WELFARE— (CONTD.)

कल्याण मंत्री (श्री बलवन्त सिंह रामूवालिया): माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, कल्याण मंत्रालय के बारे में सदन के प्रतिष्ठित सदस्यों ने बहुत महत्वपूर्ण मुद्दे उठाए। पूरे अध्ययन के साथ और कल्याण मंत्रालय के अंतर्गत आने वाले सभी विषयों के बारे में, माननीय सदस्यों ने जो मुद्दे उठाए, मैं उनके एक-एक सवाल का जवाब देने का और उस पर अपने विचार व्यक्त करने का प्रयत्न करूंगा।

माननीय श्री सुंदर सिंह भंडारी जी, श्री अजीत जोगी जी, श्री सनातन बिसि जी, श्री रामनाथ कोविन्द जी, खुद, जनाब, आपने, श्री थलवै सुन्दरम जी, ब्रह्म कुमार भट्ट जी, श्री मौरिस कुजूर जी, गोविन्द राम मिरी जी, इन माननीय सदस्यों ने मेरे मंत्रालय के प्रति अपने बहुमूल्य ज्ञान से मुझे ऐजुकेट किया और मेरे सामने कुछ मसले रखे। श्री भंडारी जी ने स्पेशल कम्पोनेंट प्लान के बारे में कहा। उन्होंने कहा कि बहुत से राज्यों में जो ऐलोकेशन आफ फंड है, वह पर्याप्त नहीं है, उसके प्रति पूरा ध्यान नहीं दिया जाता। तो मैं अर्ज़ करना चाहता हूं कि 25 राज्यों और 7 केन्द्र शासित राज्यों में, 21 राज्यों और 3 केन्द्र शासित प्रदेशों में काफी गिनती में अनुसूचित जाति है।

इनमें अरुणाचल प्रदेश, मेघालय, मिज़ोरम, नागालैंड, अंडमान और निकोबार, लक्षद्वीप, दादरा और नागर हवेली। ये ऐस राज्य हैं जहां अनुसूचित जातियों की गिनती न के बराबर है। हमने अपने मंत्रालय की ओर से भरपूर यत्न किए और उनके परिणामस्वरूप बात कुछ आगे बढ़ी है। स्पैशल कंपोनेंट प्लान, जो आबादी के लिहाज से होना चाहिए, वह 16.48 प्रतिशत बनता है। सन 1992-93 में यह 8-89 परसेंट था जो 1996-97 में बढ़कर 11.53 परसेंट हो गया है। मैंने एक जून को इस मंत्रालय का कार्यभार संभाला था और तब से इसको बढ़ाने की कोशिश की है। मैं भंडारी जी से यह कहना चाहूंगा कि वर्ष 1997-98 में यह और भी बढ़ेगा।

भंडारी जी ने राज्यों के बारे में पूछा था कि राज्य अपने फंड से कितना देते हैं। तो मैं उनको बताना चाहूंगा कि राज्यों ने भी इसमें बढ़ोत्तरी की है। मुझे यह बताते हुए खुशी है कि मैंने प्लानिंग कमीशन में इस मुद्दे को उठाया था और उन्होंने भी हमें सहयोग दिया और इसी वजह से अभी जो बजट पास हुआ है 1997-98 का, उसमें भी इस मद में और बढ़ोत्तरी की गई है।

माननीय भंडारी जी और कोविंद जी ने एक और मुद्दा उठाया था कि जो सिर पर मैला ढोने की प्रथा है, उन सफ़ाई कर्मचारियों के प्रति सरकार का रवैया क्या है और उसका क्या नतीजा निकला है। उन्होंने यह आशंका भी जाहिर की थी कि शायद इन कर्मचारियों की ठीक-ठीक संख्या का भी पता नहीं है। मैं उनको बताना चाहता हूं कि पूरे देश में 8,25,572 ऐसे व्यक्ति हैं जो सिर पर मैला ढोते हैं। श्री ब्रह्म कुमार भट्ट और श्री भंडारी जी ने यह भी पूछा था कि उनके पुनर्वास के लिए क्या कदम उठाए गए हैं। मैं उनको बताना चाहता हूं कि 1995-96 में ऐसे एक लाख लोगों को हमने रोजगार के लिए ट्रेनिंग दी है और ढाई लाख लोगों का पुनर्वास किया है। केरल, पांडिचेरी और नार्थ-ईस्ट के कुछ राज्यों को हम सिर पर मैला ढोने की प्रथा से मुक्त कर पाने में सफल हो गए हैं और हमें उम्मीद है कि इस नौवें प्लान के दौरान हम इस कलंकित प्रथा से मुक्त हो जाएंगे।

श्री मोहिन्दर सिंह कल्याण (पंजाब): मैं आपसे